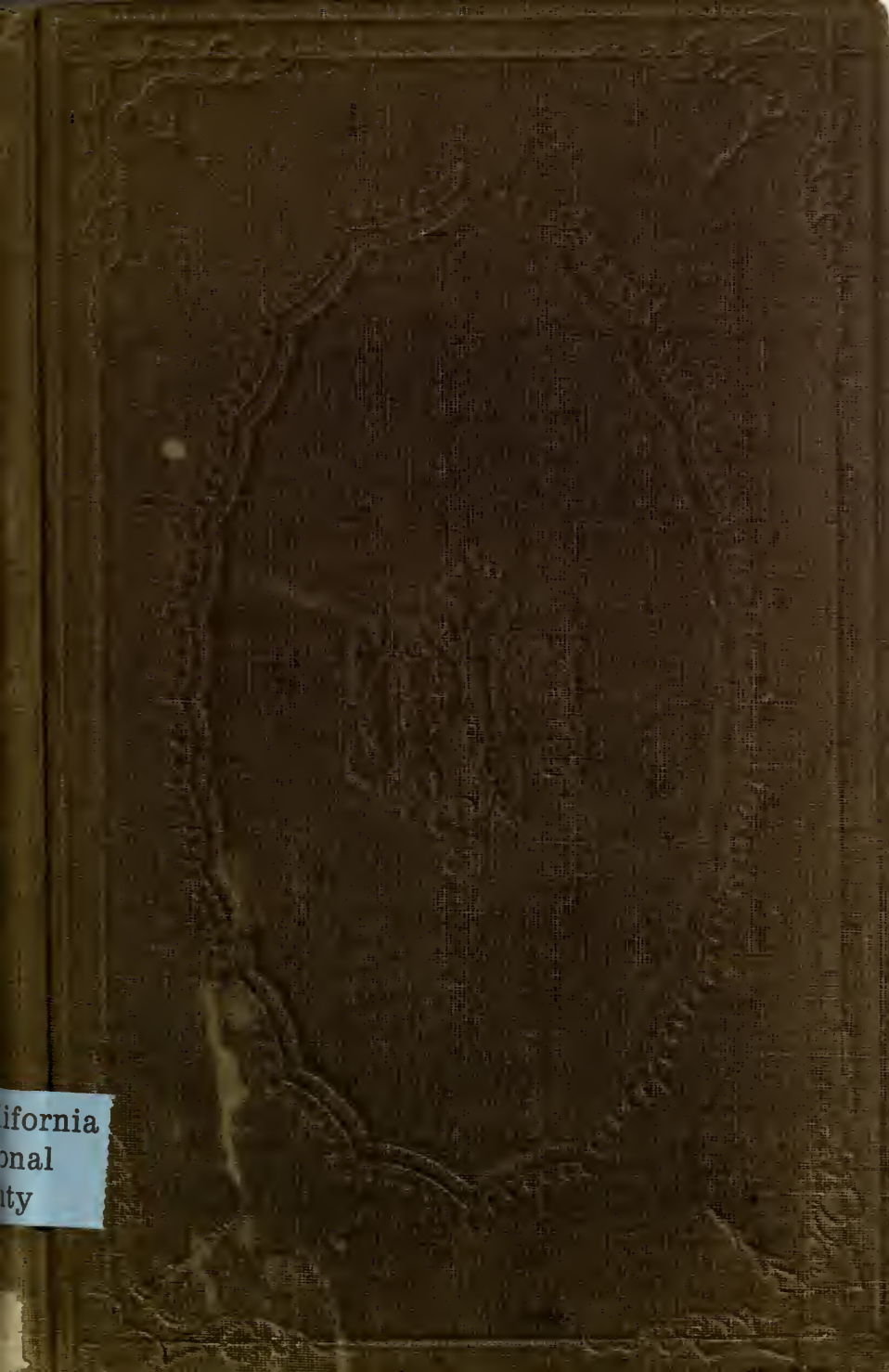
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THE CATHOLIC.

THE CATHOLIC.

LETTERS

ADDRESSED BY

A JURIST TO A YOUNG KINSMAN

PROPOSING TO JOIN THE CHURCH OF ROME.

BY

E. H. DERBY.

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INTRODUCTION.

These letters were written by a member of the legal profession, in active practice, to a young kinsman.

This youth at the age of seventeen, after evincing much industry and talent as a student, had become deeply interested in religious subjects. Misled by the statements in Milner's End of Controversy and other Roman Catholic works, he suddenly conceived the idea that the Church of Rome was the only primitive, apostolic, and catholic church, and apprised the author that he should, in his next vacation, apply to a Roman Catholic bishop for baptism. As the case required prompt action, the author immediately wrote a series of letters to dissuade him from his purpose.

He resorted not to modern casuists, but to the fountainheads, and tested the claims and faith of the Church of Rome, not by the writings of its opponents, but by those authorities on which that Church relies, namely, those early saints, fathers, and popes, Augustine, Clement, Irenæus, Ambrose,

Chrysostom, Eusebius, Jerome, Athanasius, Leo, and others revered by the church itself, and, in many instances, inscribed on its tree of saints and martyrs. He also drew his illustrations from scripture, history, and books of travels.

The letters having convinced his kinsman, he has been led by the solicitation of friends and clergymen, to complete the series of letters and to place them before the public.

THE CATHOLIC.

LETTER I.

Boston, February 10, 1853.

My Dear S. . . : — Your mother has placed in my hands your letter of the fourth current, and finding a few hours leisure this morning, I feel it my duty to reply. I confess I do not like the spirit of your letter, for it is altogether too positive in its tone. You are but a stripling of seventeen years; you have made good progress, and displayed some acumen, but are still a very youthful philosopher. The law which intrusts to me your guidance, the public sentiment which expects me to instruct you, and thus qualify you for the duties and conflicts of life, confide to me as a correlative privilege, the guidance of your religious sentiment. Having a respect for all denominations of Christians, and having been compelled by circumstances to worship with several, I have wished not to press the subject of religion upon you with too much zeal, but to place you under the care of our own clergyman, and give you the opportunity, without undue coercion, to avail yourself of his guidance, and gradually mature your religious opinions.

It is, however, my duty under your last letter, to speak more decidedly. Your opinions on religion are at present immature, and betray a want of research and reflection. More time and study are requisite. You have an impulsive temperament, and have already on more occasions than one, acted under erroneous impressions, and changed your opinions or essentially modified them, and I have no doubt will do it again. I must therefore apprise you, that I shall not for the present consent to your becoming a member of the Church of Rome. When you have made more progress, when you have attained to your twentieth year, and have properly investigated the subject, I shall, however reluctant, place no restraint upon your deliberate judgment, and meanwhile I wish you to thoroughly investigate the whole subject.

Your letter evinces a strange want of information on one point. You say, "Catholic means universal, and Episcopalianism only exists in England and a small part of America, and if you can point me to a place in the world (where men have any idea of the Christian religion) where Roman Catholicism does not exist, then I will turn Protestant."

Now Europe, the most civilized part of the world, contains *three millions seven hundred thousand square miles*, and in *two thirds of it* the Roman Catholic church has virtually *no existence*, namely, in

Russia containing	2,000,000	square miles.[1]
Sweden and Norway	291,000	"
Turkey	210,000	"
Total	2,501,000	"

[1] Except the Polish Province.

The Roman Catholic church holds a divided empire over one million two hundred thousand miles only, and does not embrace half the people of Europe. The Greek church has nearly as many worshippers in Europe as the Roman, and controls *exclusively* more than half the territory of Europe, and about all the Christian churches of *Asia.* The Roman church is in a minority also in *Africa* and *America.*

Again you say, that "it is universally conceded that no Protestants, that is, dissenting or protesting from the authority of the Pope, existed before the time of Luther, consequently you are not apostolical." Have you never read of *this same Greek church* which claims to be apostolic, and was established at Byzantium; have you not heard of Wickliffe, of the Waldenses and Albigenses, or to go back further, are you not aware that St. Augustine of the fifth century, from whom the *Augustines* take their name, a man whose writings are preserved and treated as authorities by the Roman See, authorities they cannot and dare not reject, was *Calvinistic* in his *doctrines* now *extant?* Was he an adorer of the *Virgin Mary?* Again, there is nothing but vague tradition to show that Peter founded the Church of Rome, and that same tradition is, that Peter and Paul both suffered martyrdom at Rome, and what record does St. Paul give of Peter as Bishop of Rome? St. Paul does speak of Clement, his fellow-laborer at Rome, but does not speak of any assistance from St. Peter, who seems to have derived his subsequent reputation from a mere play upon his name, or figurative expression of our Saviour.

St. Paul was the great apostle to the Gentiles. He was the great traveller. He speaks of his repeated shipwrecks, his voyages and journeys by sea and land, of his *visit* to *Spain.* This was the route of Phœnician commerce to the tin, copper, and lead mines of England; and the English tradition is, that *St. Paul* established churches in England. We learn, at all events, from Lingard, the *Roman Catholic* historian of England, who cites the venerable Bede, that when Pope Gregory, in the seventh century, sent Austin to England to convert the Saxons, he found Christian churches which had been established there for centuries, entirely unknown to the Bishop of Rome, who punned upon the Angles as "angels," and upon Deira their home as "Dei Ira."

The English church claims an apostolic descent from St. Paul, with more presumptions from *history*, and quite as much from *traditions*, as the Romish does from St. Peter. Iconium, or the Isle of Iona, was the ancient seat of religious instruction.

Subsequently, when the Pope of Rome had obtained some ascendency over the English church, some Catholic rites, forms, and doctrines were adopted, which were more or less discarded at the Reformation; but the English church, as well as the French, ever maintained a great degree of independence.

The English church would not allow the Pope to appoint bishops, or consecrate them at Rome, but merely to send the *Pallium* or Vesture; it refused Peter Pence, and in other respects questioned the Papal supremacy, and washed itself from abuses that had crept in, at the Reformation. You ask,

where were the Protestants for many centuries after our Saviour? The reply doubtless is, they were gradually giving way to the abuses, and encroachments, and grasping policy of the Roman See, ever extending its arms; or I might add, the subject is forcibly if not elegantly illustrated, by the answer of the English boy to the Irish. The latter asked, What was the condition of your church before the Reformation? The English boy replies, In the same condition you were in before your face was washed this morning.[1]

But to another point. You speak of the "unity" of the Roman Catholic church for fourteen centuries. Where was that unity when the Roman Catholic church and the Greek church separated, divided Christendom, and the bishop of Rome and the bishop of Constantinople mutually excommunicated each other?

Where was its unity when St. Augustine, still a calendar saint, preached *Calvinistic* sermons? Where was its unity when the *Franciscans* and *Dominicans*, professing different doctrines, divided the church and anathematized each other? Where was its unity in the great struggle of the iconoclasts and image-worshippers which divided the church also? Are you not aware that the great Roman Catholic articles of faith, transubstantiation, indulgences, and purgatory, are of modern introduction into the Roman Catholic

[1] This striking illustration originated with the celebrated John Wilkes. When asked by a Roman Catholic, "Where was your church before Luther?" he inquired, "Did you wash your face this morning?" "Yes," was the response, and then came the significant reply, "Where was your face before it was washed?"

creed, and that the adoration and prayers to the Virgin are long subsequent to St. Augustine?

Have you never read of the great division of the Roman Catholics between the *Jesuits* and the *Jansenites*, and the more recent division between the *Montane* and *Transmontane* parties, the former denying and the latter admitting the infallibility of the Pope, without a general council of the church?

And are not the differences between these parties altogether more serious than those between *high* and *low* church?

And when you speak of miracles, do you believe in the holy coat of Treves, and in the tears which flow from eyes of statues in whose hollow heads fishes are swimming?

You speak of casting out *devils*. It seems to me that too much *presumption* and self-*confidence* without knowledge, are the modern and most dangerous devils, and the true mode to cast them out, is to approach this great subject of religion with humility and diffidence, to pay some respect to the experience of those who have lived twenty or thirty years longer than yourself, and then to investigate the great question of religion coolly, cautiously, prayerfully, and thoroughly, and not decide first and learn afterwards.

I send you a pamphlet of some bearing on this question, and would recommend you to read the first, St. Augustine, with care; also to read Churton's Early English Church, and Stillingfleet's Origines Britannicae Ecclesiae, and other prominent authors.

Yours, truly and affectionately.

LETTER II.

Boston, February 20, 1853.

Dear S. . . : — At your request, I have seen the Roman Catholic bishop, and apprised him of my views respecting you, and thanked him for not yielding to your inconsiderate request. He told me that when candidates for admission to his church came to him, he *often* held them back, and sometimes put them on probation for eighteen months, and added, that he had advised you, that in case of *death* during *probation, he had no doubt* all parties on probation *would be saved.* He expressed, too, the opinion, that it was not wise or judicious for any one to join the church, without due and ample thought and investigation, and promised to do nothing more in the premises (except to reply to your inquiries and furnish books) without consulting me upon the subject.

You will therefore, I trust, have no difficulty in conforming to my views, and I must insist on my prerogative. I am on one point more liberal than the bishop. He says he could not advise any parent in *his church*, to *consent* that his son should leave his church for another; but I am willing that some two years hence, when you have attained to the age of twenty, and matured your opinions, you should exercise your own deliberate judgment; but let me assure you, that if you deliberately disobey me after this

assurance, that your disobedience will not only be registered indelibly in my own mind, but will be registered in heaven.

I have hoped you would endeavor to sustain the points you advanced in your first letter, and would reply to my last, but I see you notice but one or two suggestions, and fly off to some Romish logic, which it seems to me you must draw not from your own reading, but from some *modern casuist.* I regret that you have not, down to this time, read more upon the subject of theology, and that you have not embraced in your course of miscellaneous reading, those books of history and of travels which would have shown you the *disastrous* influence of the Church of Rome on the countries where its power has been established for the last twelve centuries.

I do not write you to prefer *charges* against the Church of Rome, but to draw your attention to the *weakness* of its foundations, and the remarkable departure it has made from the simplicity of the gospel. I wish to point out its errors which are obvious to me as a *layman*, and which have long impressed my mind, and in doing so, I wish to exhibit that respect which I feel for all denominations of Christians, and for all followers of our Saviour, whether of the Romish, Greek, or Protestant faith. I shall give you, too, my own views, and the result of my own reading. I propose to discuss the question at issue with you myself, and leave our pastor to discuss it if he sees fit with our friend the Romish bishop.

You do not appear to be familiar with the early fathers and writers, who are recognized as high au-

thorities by the Catholic church, and are deferred to by both Greek, Romish, and Protestant churches. I mean the great men who wrote in the first four centuries before the dark ages, namely, Cyprian, Jerome, Origen, Augustine, Ambrose, Chrysostom, Gregory, Eusebius, and Tertullian; but as I happen to have in my possession one of the books of St. Augustine, and copious extracts from the others, made by Jewell, the learned bishop of Salisbury, in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, with full reference to book and page, I shall quote them in discussion.

The Augustine I cited, and propose to cite, is not Jansen, who signs himself *Augustinus*, because he adopts the views of St. Augustine, but the old saint himself, whom you mention "as the clearest of witnesses," although I can find no proof in his writings that he was, as you seem to suppose, a devout worshipper, in the Romish sense, of the blessed Virgin Mary.

And first, let me draw your attention to the argument against the Romish church being the true one, derived from history and travels. You will find the *current* of *evidence* nearly irresistible, that in those countries where it has prevailed, *progress* and *civilization* have been retarded, and the condition of the people sadly depressed. Compare England since the Reformation for three centuries, with England for three centuries before, and see what a stride she has made, from a poor and obscure island, with her land engrossed by monasteries and nunneries, and her people depressed, degraded, and ignorant. Look at the leap she has made since she shook off these incumbrances. Look at the progress of population,

wealth, industry, and art, at the islands and territories she has subdued and settled, at her mastery of the seas, and the diffusion of her race, language, and religion throughout the world. At the present rate of progress, *in one century more*, *the Protestants* speaking the English tongue will exceed three hundred millions, and outnumber the present members of both Greek and Romish churches; and what is *one* century compared with the *eighteen* preceding centuries? Again, compare Italy, the ancient seat of *arts* and *power*, depressed and degraded and impoverished under the Papal see for twelve centuries, with the Protestant States of Holland won from the sea, Germany, England, and the United States, in which last the Protestants stand as ten to one compared with the Roman Catholics. Compare Spain, broken down by the inquisition and absorption of land by the priesthood and by Romish observances, with England and Holland, and mark the progress of France since the estates of the church were alienated, and recur to the losses both France and Spain sustained, the former by the massacre of the Protestants and the expulsion of the survivors, and the latter by the expulsion of the Moors, who were so long the depositaries of learning, and that barbarous interdict upon all freedom of thought, the inquisition. But I thank God, even the Romish church is now abandoning the *auto da fe* and the grand inquisitor.

Now I submit this argument as to the Romish faith being a departure from the gospel, that the true design of Christianity was to refine, improve, and civilize, not debase the world; and if we find a system has departed from the simplicity of the gospel,

and has been attended by debasement and degradation, while the reformation has been attended with different results, that system cannot be true.

Again, let me recur to the origin of the Romish church. Its basis should be the gospel. Here we have a safe starting-point. All denominations recognize the mission of our Saviour, and the authority of the Gospels, Acts, and Epistles. Now how far do these sacred books establish the faith, doctrines, and usages of the Romish church? First, the Church of Rome relies upon the sixteenth chapter of St. Matthew, eighteenth verse, in which our Saviour says, "Thou art Peter, and on this rock I will build my church." But we must remember that in the same chapter, verse twenty-third, our Saviour *rebukes* Peter in terms stronger than he used to any apostle, save Judas, who betrayed him, saying, "Get thee behind me, Satan, thou art an offence unto me." And we must not forget that in the hour of trial Peter faltered, that he thrice denied our Lord, and drawing a sword against the wishes of our Saviour, wounded a servant of the high-priest, because he stated the truth.

Again, the Romish church adverts to the gift of keys and relies on the nineteenth verse of the same chapter, but the ancient fathers attached little importance to this verse which so closely precedes the rebuke. Tertullian, of Carthage, who flourished in the next century after the apostles, says, "Clavem interpretationem legis."[1] Chrysostom, bishop of Constantinople, says, "Clavis est scientia scripturarum

[1] "The key is the interpretation of the law."

per quam aperitur janua veritatis."[1] Chrysostom lived in 393. Eusebius, who lived in 290, born in Palestine in 265, an able and voluminous writer, calls the keys "the word of God." These seem to be the earliest and most authentic of ancient expositors, and I can refer you to these passages and all others I may cite. What becomes, then, of the express delegation to St. Peter, claimed by the Romanists, of the exclusive custody of the gates of heaven?

Again, the Romish church relies on the words spoken to St. Peter, "feed my sheep, feed my lambs," the words of our Saviour. But our Saviour said to all his apostles, indifferently, "feed ye," "go into the whole world," "teach ye the gospel."[2] Whatever power was given to St. Peter was not delegated to his successors by any words I find in the gospels. The Romish church look principally to St. Peter, but it appears by Holy Writ that St. Paul was the *great apostle to the Gentiles*, and the principal if not the sole founder of the Church of Rome.

It is true the Lord appeared in a vision to St. Peter, to dispel his impressions as to the impurity of the Gentiles, but it does not appear that St. Peter, for many years, went out of Asia, while St. Paul, enlightened by a heavenly vision, and highly educated, having been reared at Tarsus, distinguished for its schools, and at the feet of Gamaliel, a learned and leading Pharisee, and being born a Roman citizen, was converted to the faith, and sent forth the

[1] "The key is the knowledge of Scripture through which the gate of truth is opened."

[2] John 20: 21–23. Mark 16: 15.

eloquent expounder of Christianity, and endowed also with the power of miracles. Refer to the Acts and Epistles. Who was the principal actor and author? St. Paul. How often did he visit Rome, and how long did he reside there? He was there twice or thrice and for years. His epistles most of them bear date from *Rome*. Look at their conclusion. Read them all, and you will find he was in Asia, Egypt, Arabia, Thrace, Greece, Macedonia, Italy, Spain, and many other regions, founding churches and preaching the gospel. Examine his Epistle to the Galatians from Rome, chapters one and two, from the fourteenth verse of the first, to the sixteenth verse of the second chapter, and note his remarkable narrative of the heavenly vision, and his mission to the Gentiles. How it was three years after he commenced that mission, before he visited the disciples in Jerusalem, where he conferred with Peter and *James*, (the first bishop of Jerusalem,) the Lord's brother, and after a visit of but fifteen days to Peter, left Judea for Cilicia and Syria; how he travelled on his mission for fourteen years, and then returned to Jerusalem where he found James and John, as well as Cephas, "pillars of the church," and Peter performing his mission to the *circumcised;* how he met Peter at Antioch; how Peter at first associated with the Gentiles at meals, and when the Jews appeared withdrew, and how severely Paul reproved him for this *tergiversation*, "and withstood him to the face because he was to be blamed." See Galatians 11: 11, 14, and note that he afterwards returned to Rome, and thence addressed his apostolic letters to the *bishops* of various churches. Does all this show *any supremacy* or *infal-*

libility on the part of St. Peter in the days of the apostles? He may have subsequently visited Rome, and his martyrdom may have occurred there, and his blood have cemented the foundations of the church which St. Paul had reared there, but St. Paul was the bold, learned, eloquent, and effective preacher of the gospel to the heathen, and at least coördinate with St. Peter, the oldest and probably least instructed of the disciples, who must have been an old man when he reached Rome more than eighteen years after the death of our Saviour.

It thus appears by Holy Writ, that St. Peter did not *plant* the Church of Rome. In my next letter, I will test by Catholic writers, the authority of the first bishops of Rome, and how, on the decline of the Roman Empire, they acquired the Papal power.

Very sincerely and affectionately yours.

I have no objections to your asking the bishop any questions that you may see fit, but I do not wish you to send him this letter.

LETTER III.

Boston, February 21, 1853.

My dear S...: — In my last letter I showed you that Peter, in the days of our Saviour and the apostles, was not superior to his associates; that the "keys" are the "Word of God" given to all the disciples; that James became the first bishop of Jerusalem to the exclusion of Peter; that Paul, after his heavenly vision, without taking counsel of the disciples, began his mission to the heathen, and became the builder of that church, of which Christ himself was the chief corner-stone; that Paul planted the great churches in Ephesus, Smyrna, and Rome, chief cities of the Roman Empire, and in tracing the progress of the bishops of Rome, we must remember that Rome was the seat of empire, the mistress of the world, and it was to be expected that her bishops should be aspiring, that they should feel like the Romish bishop of New York, the metropolis of our country, disposed to outrank their fellows and enlarge their jurisdiction. It was natural that they should struggle for supremacy, and by no means surprising they should attain to power. *Six centuries*, however, expired before they acquired a positive ascendency, as appears by the concurrent testimony of the *fathers* and *historians* both of *church* and *state*. Bishops were placed over hundreds of churches in Europe, Asia,

and Africa, who for six centuries exercised the power of the apostles, met in council, and by discussion and by concurrent votes regulated the *faith* and directed the *worship* of the Catholic church.

The first authority on whom the Romish church places any reliance is Irenæus, who lived about the year 170, and was a friend of Polycarp, the disciple of St. John. He wrote a treatise against the Gnostics, who claimed to know certain *mysteries* which the apostles disclosed only to the perfect. In arguing against these heretics in his essay,[1] he says, if the apostles had known any such mysteries, they would have intrusted them to those to whom they intrusted the apostolic churches they founded, and to confute the Gnostics cites the doctrines and faith derived from the apostles by a succession of bishops in the great, most ancient, and universally known church, founded at Rome by the glorious apostles Peter and Paul, in which the faithful around it have always preserved the apostolic doctrine, and adds, that not only Polycarp, taught by the apostles, and by them constituted bishop of Smyrna, but also the Church of Ephesus, founded by Paul, but in which John remained until the time of Trajan, are *true witnesses* of the faith transmitted by the apostles.

Irenæus gives to the Church of Rome the prominence she deserves from her position, size, importance, and founders, but brings in also the churches of Smyrna and Ephesus, as alike true witnesses against the heretics he is confuting, thus placing them on the same footing.

Tertullian, one century afterwards, in his essay

[1] L. 3, c. 3.

against Marcian, refers his opponent to his standard authorities against him, saying, "Run over the apostolic churches in which the apostles' chairs are still continued, in which their authentic letters are recited, sounding out the voice and representing the face of each one of them. Is Achaia nearest to you, you have Corinth. If you be not far from Macedonia, you have the Philippians and the Thessalonians. If you can go to Asia, you have Ephesus. If you border on Italy, you have Rome, whence we also (namely, the Africans) can have authority."

Thus the ancient fathers taught the people to reform their doctrine, not only by the Church of Rome, but also by other notable apostolic churches.

Again, the blessed martyr, Cyprian, bishop of Carthage, under the emperor Decius, A. D. 249, in his treatise of "Cyprianus de simplicitate Prælatorum," says, "All the apostles were of *like* power among themselves, and the rest were the *same* that *Peter* was," and adds, "there is but *one bishopric* and a piece thereof is holden by each particular bishop." What paramount power does this saint of the church accord to the church of Rome?

The blessed Jerome, Hieronymus, born A. D. 331, in his "Litera ad Evagrium," speaking of the usage and order of the Church of Rome, says, "Why allegest thou to me the usage of one city?" Again, he says, "not only the bishops of one city, (that is, Rome,) but the bishops of all the world, err." Surely, then, the bishop of Rome had no *infinite* or *universal* power. The church was then governed by councils, and hereties were put down by general councils, and

heretics were then numerous. St. Augustine enumerates more than eighty varieties, and at one time the *Arians*, favored by an emperor, were supposed to be in the ascendant. The first *general council* was called by Constantine, the emperor, at Nice. Three hundred and eighteen bishops attended to put down the Arian heresy. It is intimated both by St. Jerome and St. Augustine that Liberius, bishop or pope of Rome, took part with the Arians. St. Jerome states this in his treatise,[1] and Cardinal Casanus, a Romish writer in the first half of the fifteenth century, a favored friend of Pope Eugenius IV., and legate under several pontiffs, represents St. Augustine to have said that "Pope Liberius gave his hand and consent to the Arians."[2] But the great council of Nice put down the Arians, and with them condemned virtually Liberius, the heretic pope, and the other bishops who favored them. An eminent Roman Catholic writer is here our authority. When councils thus condemn the Roman bishop, or pope, where was his infallibility, and how was it manifested to the world? Further, by the sixth canon of the first Council of Nice, the whole of Christendom was divided into four patriarchships, whereof the first was Rome, the second Alexandria, the third Antioch, the fourth Jerusalem; each was limited, and Rome was confined to Italy and the West. Neither had power over the other, and down to a much later period, the *idea* of a *universal* bishop was scouted by the bishops of Rome as well as others. Gregory I., a

[1] Hieron. de Eccles. Scriptor.

[2] In his book de Concord. L. II, c. 5.

bishop of Rome, and a saint of the Romish church, says,[1] "He is antichrist that shall claim to be called universal bishop, or chief of the priests." The emperor Gratian did the same, and allowed the bishop of Rome to be called no more than bishop of the first seat.

St. John, predicting the antichrist in Revelations, says of the number of the beast, "His number is 666." Irenæus says the name of antichrist is expressed by a number Λατεινος, equivalent to Latinus. The Greek letters indicate 666. After Justinian, at the close of the sixth century, had deposed two Roman bishops or popes, Sylverius and Vigilius, the first for profligacy, and the last for treason, the Roman bishops were for a time quite moderate in their pretensions. About this period, Gregory, then bishop of Rome, writes as follows: "None of my predecessors, bishops of Rome, ever consented to use this ungodly name (of universal bishop); no bishop of Rome ever took upon him this name of singularity; we, the bishops of Rome, will not receive this honor being offered unto us."[2]

But his successors were not so fastidious. Early in the seventh century, John, bishop of Constantinople, claimed from the emperor Maurice, the title of "universal bishop," and Gregory objected. Soon after Maurice, with his family, was murdered by the centurion Phocas, who was raised by the soldiery to the imperial throne. At the instance of Boniface II., bishop of Rome, a successor of Gregory, the usurper Phocas conferred this "ungodly name," as it

[1] Epistolæ 34, L. IV.
[2] Greg. L. IV. Ep. 32 et 36.

was termed by Gregory, on Boniface. Building on this frail title, derived not from St. Peter, but from the *felon* and *usurper* Phocas, the popes soon enlarged their power, so that in another century pope Boniface VIII. announced, "that every creature must submit itself to the bishop of Rome, upon the pain of everlasting damnation." So much for the origin and foundations of the papal power in the church of Rome. In another letter I shall point out its departure from the teaching of our Saviour.

Very sincerely and affectionately yours.

LETTER IV.

Boston, February 23, 1853.

My dear S. . . : — In my previous letters, I showed you by Scripture, and the early fathers, canonized as saints by the church of Rome, that St. Peter, after the death of our Saviour, was on a level with the other disciples; that St. Paul without any conference with him after his journey to Damascus, for three years toiled in his mission to plant churches among the heathen, and after a brief visit to St. Peter, did not meet him again for fourteen years, when he returned to Jerusalem, and found James and his two associates, "pillars of the church." I could also have cited the learned Eusebius, the first historian of the church, who was born in Palestine, A. D. 265, and enjoyed the favor of Constantine the Great, for Eusebius calls Paul "the holy, the first of the apostles," traces his descent from the tribe of Benjamin, and applies to him the prophecy of Isaiah, "There is little Benjamin their ruler,"[1] as fulfilled in his teaching. I showed in my letters also, the early bishops of Rome neither were, nor claimed to be, for six centuries, *universal* bishops, or as you express it, "Catholic bishops," but by the admission of one of them, always disclaimed such "a godless name," and regarded him who should take it as an antichrist." I proved

[1] Psalms 68 : 27.

by Catholic testimony, that one of them joined the Arians, and was condemned with others by a general council; how two of them were deposed, one for treason, another for profligacy, and how the title of Catholic bishop was conferred by an assassin and usurper, but little before the period when St. John and Irenæus predicted *antichrist* should come. I might proceed to show the evidence that one Roman bishop was murdered by the populace for his vices, how another became an infidel, and how the church before the Reformation generally believed another to have been a woman in disguise. I might trace the gradual progress of the Romish church during the dark ages, in its assumption of power, but I have other topics to consider and discuss, and must refer you to history for these details. I propose now to consider the "*means*" which Christ provided for the guidance of his church in after ages, which "have not fallen short" of the object, or failed when properly used, to preserve the church from error. Those means were the four gospels, the authentic record of Christ's mission, faith, and precepts, and the Acts and Epistles of his chosen disciples, confided to the bishops of the apostolic churches. These bishops met in council from time to time, to put down heresy by the authority of Holy Writ, when individuals yielded to error. This was a safe and reliable system, and the same standards, the Gospels, Epistles, and Acts, are transmitted to us.

During the first six centuries questions were settled, not by the mysteries of the Gnostics,[1] but by

[1] Early heretics who claimed that there were mysteries and traditions which went beyond the letter of the gospel.

Holy Writ. Like the prophet David, the holy fathers of the church could say, "Thy word is a lamp unto my feet, and a light unto my path." "The commandment of the Lord is pure, enlightening the eyes." And with Theophilactus, an early writer in the church, "The word of God is the candle whereby the thief is espied."

St. Augustine, "the old saint" of whom you speak, the bishop of Hippo, in Africa, A. D. 393, a most valuable *Catholic* authority, says in his Essay,[1] "Let not these words be heard between us, *I say*, or *you say*, let us rather speak in this wise, 'Thus saith the Lord.'" Again, he says in his essay against Petilian, the Donatist, "Sive de Christo, sive de ejus Ecclesiâ, sive de quacunque re aliâ quæ pertinet ad fidem vitamque nostram non dicam si nos sed si angelus de coelo nobis annunciaret praeterquam quod in scripturibus legalibus et evangelicis accepistis Anathema sit," virtually, "Let him be accursed even if an angel from heaven, who teaches otherwise than we have received in the words of the law and the gospels." Here is the testimony of a most learned and holy man, the great warrior and defender of the church, a Catholic saint, the prototype and model also, as the bishop of Salisbury writes of Luther and Calvin, and this last bishop lived in the same century with Luther.[2]

Again, St. Jerome says,[3] "Sed et alia quæ absque auctoritate et testimoniis scripturarum quasi traditione apostolicâ reperiunt atque confingunt per-

[1] De Unitate Ecclesiæ against the Donatists, c. 3.

[2] See Jewell's Apology, p. 27, note.

[3] In his treatise entitled In primum caput Aggai.

cutit gladius dei." "Let the sword of the Lord destroy whatever else they pretend to find, or to rest on apostolic tradition, without the sanction of Scripture."

St. Ambrose, bishop of Milan from 375 to 397, in his letter to the emperor Gratian, says:[1] "Interrogentur Scripturæ; interrogentur Apostoli; interrogentur Prophetæ; interrogetur Christus."[2] Again, the rule for the modern Christians is expressly pointed out by St. Paul. He does not refer us for our faith to the nominee of an usurper, or the nominee of a conclave of cardinals, guided often by intrigue, artifice, or interest, but he says,[3] "All Scripture is given by inspiration of God, and is profitable for doctrine, for reproof, for correction, for instruction in righteousness, that the man of God may be perfect, thoroughly furnished unto all good works." And in the same chapter, he tells Timothy, his early pupil, whose grandmother and mother were both devout Christians, who was himself the first bishop of the pure church at Ephesus, commended by Irenæus, as follows: "From a child thou hast known the holy Scriptures, which are able to make thee *wise unto salvation, through faith which is in Jesus Christ.*"

Guided by this advice, Timothy presided over the church of Ephesus, and was there joined by St. John, the beloved disciple, who ministered there until the time of Trajan. May we not in modern times rely on what St. Paul, St. John, and their disciple,

[1] Ad Gratianum de fide, Liber I.

[2] Inquire of the Scriptures; inquire of the apostles; inquire of the prophets; inquire of Christ.

[3] 2 Timothy 3: 16.

the first bishop of Ephesus, found sufficient "to make one wise unto salvation?"

Let us now trace the singular departures of the Romish church from the gospel, the apostles, and the early bishops and fathers of the church. I cannot forbear, however, to preface this inquiry by two quotations from Catholic authorities. First, St. Augustine says, "The church is to be shown by the sacred and canonical Scriptures, and that which cannot be shown by them, is not the church."[1] And St. Chrysostom says,[2] "Now can no man know which is the true church of Christ, except by the Scriptures."

But the *Romish church* drives the people from these Scriptures, as something dangerous, and has dared to style them "a *bare letter*, *uncertain*, *unprofitable*, *killing*, and *dead*." How much more reliable was the *interpretation* of a *traitor*, a *profligate*, a *heretic*, the *tool* of an *usurper*, or the "*godless*" man, whom a *Roman pontiff* designates as *antichrist* himself?

The Romish church has withdrawn the Holy Scriptures as far as possible from the people. Witness the late acts of the pope, and the recent prosecutions in Tuscany and Piedmont, and refer to the history of Europe for the last twelve centuries. Even while I write, the evening papers inform me that within the last thirty days the Romish priests have *imprisoned* a whole *family* in Piedmont, for presum-

[1] De Unitate Ecclesiæ, Cap. III.: "Ecclesia ex sacris et canonisis scripturis ostendenda est; quæque ex illis ostendi non potest non est ecclesia."

[2] In opere imperfect, Hom. 49.

ing to read the translated Scriptures, and even our national flag has been lately violated by the seizure of the Bibles in an American ship in Sicily.

For the first two centuries before the decree of the usurper Phocas, the *primitive* and *universal usage* of the *Catholic church*, was the *stated reading* of the Scriptures in *public worship*, and this we must remember was before the day of printing, and was the most effective mode of reaching the people. For this fact, see the invaluable treatises of Justin Martyr, converted to Christianity at a mature age, A. D. 132, who addressed two letters in defence of Christianity, one in A. D. 150, to the emperor Antoninus, and the other to Marcus Aurelius and the Roman senate.[1]

And although our Saviour gave the gift of tongues, that his apostles might convert the heathen to his faith, the Romish church withdraws to a great extent the Scriptures from the people, performs most of its services in an unknown tongue, and relies for the conversion of the people upon its own interpretation, and trusts to ceremonies, processions, candles, incense, oil, salt, holy water, masses, bulls, indulgences, jubilees, purgatory, transubstantiation, images, saints, shrines and orisons to the Virgin, and hymns like this,

"Ave Mater Anna,
Plena melle Canna,"

for the salvation of the soul.

[1] See his Apol. 2d, and the citations of Eusebius. For this, see also Tertullian in Apol. C. 39, Ad uxorem, Lib. II.; Cyprian Epist. L.V. Ep. 5; Origen, Hom. 15 in Josuam; Chrysostom, Hom. 19; Augustine, in Ps. 36; the fifth Council of Constantinople, A. I.; the Council of Laodicea, Canon 16.

In opposition to the Church of Rome, Irenæus, in whom it places the utmost reliance, about the year 170, says: "The Scriptures are plain, and without doubtfulness, and may be heard indifferently of all men."[1] Clement of Alexandria, one of the early fathers, says in his Oratio ad Gentes, "Forasmuch as the word itself is come to us from heaven, we may not now any more seek after the doctrine of men." Chrysostom[2] tells us, "Thou wilt say, I have not heard the Scriptures. This is no excuse, but a sin." St. Augustine also says, "The judges and doctors of the church, as men, are often deceived."[3] Are the judges and doctors of the Romish church now holier or wiser than the holy fathers in the days of St. Augustine? The same saint, again, in his treatise against the Pelagian heretic Julian, reproves him severely for arguing that the Scriptures should be read only by the learned, and observes, "You exaggerate when you say how difficult it is and how inconvenient it is to all but a few learned men to acquire a knowledge of the Scripture."[4] A doctrine the saint condemns.

Origen says, "Would to God we would all do according as it is written, 'Search the Scriptures.'"[5]

St. Jerome, also, expounding the words of the apostles, "Let the word of Christ dwell in you plenteously," remarks: "Here we are taught, that the lay

[1] Iren. advs Haer. L. I. c. 31.

[2] Homily 17, ad Heb.

[3] L. II. c. 2.

[4] "Exaggeras quam sit difficilis, paucisque conveniens eruditis sanctarum cognitio literarum."

[5] Origen, Hom. 2 in Esa.

people ought to have the Word of God, not only sufficiently, but also with abundance, and to teach and counsel one another." [1]

Such sayings are common in the works of St. Chrysostom.[2] He recommends his readers "to take the Holy Book in hand, and call their neighbors about them, and refresh their minds." Again,[3] he recommends them to "read the Scriptures at home before and after meals." Again,[4] he tells them, "Hearken not hereto only in church, but also at home. Let the husband with the wife, and the father with the child, talk together of these matters, and give their judgments." Is not this conclusive evidence, that the Church of Rome in discountenancing the circulation and authority of the Scriptures, has departed alike from the precepts and practice of the apostles and early church?

In my next I will consider some of its other departures and peculiar dogmas.

Very sincerely and affectionately yours.

[1] Hieron. in 3 Cap. Ep. ad Coloss.: strong testimony from the writer of the Vulgate.

[2] Hom. 6 in Gentes.

[3] Hom. 10 in Gentes.

[4] Hom. 2 in Johan.

LETTER V.

Boston, February 24, 1853.

My dear S. . . : — The next departure from Holy Writ, made by the Church of Rome, to which I will draw your attention, is the exclusion of the people from the elements at the communion. Our Saviour brake bread and blessed it and gave it with the cup to his disciples, the humble fishermen of Galilee, but the Romish church professed to be wiser than our Saviour, and excluded the people from the cup, and in private masses from the bread, which he bade them to take in remembrance of him.

The apostles in their canons cited by Anacletus, say,[1] "Whoso entereth the church, and heareth the Scriptures, and receiveth not the communion, let him be excommunicated as a disturber of the church and breaker of the public order."

Gelasius I., bishop of Rome 492, says, respecting the people, "Aut integra sacramenta percipiant aut ab integris arceantur quia divisio unius ejusdemque mysterii sine grandi sacrilegio non potest pervenire."[2]

The celebrated letter of Pliny to the emperor Trajan, respecting the ancient Christians,[3] is on this

[1] Canon 10.

[2] "Let them receive the whole sacrament, or abstain from all, for a division of the same mystery cannot be effected without a great sacrilege."

[3] Letter 97th, 2d vol. of Melmoth's Pliny.

point worthy of your attention. It is written within forty years after the death of St. Paul, and was often appealed to by the ancient Christian writers, as evidence of the purity of their doctrines against the calumnies of their adversaries. Pliny states, that when arrested, or summoned before him, these Christians affirmed they met on a certain stated day, before it was light, and addressed themselves in a form of prayer to Christ, as to some god, binding themselves by a solemn oath, not for any wicked design, but never to commit any fraud, theft, or adultery, never to falsify their word, nor deny a trust when they should be called to deliver it up; after which it was their custom to separate, and then reassemble to eat in common a harmless meal. Is not this a strong confirmation from a learned and most reliable pagan philosopher, that all participated in the Lord's supper?

The Greek church, which separated on the question of Easter-day does not follow the Romish errors in the administration of the Eucharist. But the Church of Rome has introduced an innovation on all ancient usages, namely, the Mass. In public masses the cup is reserved, and in private masses both cup and bread are confined to the clergy.

In countries where the Church of Rome is established, masses are bought and sold, and when the communion is sent to the sick, it is borne under a canopy in solemn procession, and all who pass must bow the knee in adoration to the bread and wine.

This brings me to the doctrine of Transubstantiation, another departure from the apostles and ancient church, under which departure *bread* and *wine* are *adored*. What say the holy fathers to this doctrine?

St. Ambrose denies the doctrine in his treatise.[1]

Gelasius, bishop of Rome, A. D. 492, says,[2] "Neither the substance of the bread, nor the nature of the wine ceases to be;"[3] conclusive evidence from Rome herself, and yet she rejects the testimony and authority of her *infallible* pontiff.

Theodoret, bishop of Cyricus, in Syria, A. D. 420, uses this clear and strong language:[4] "After the consecration, the mystical signs do not cast off their own proper nature, for they remain still in their former *substance*, *nature*, and *kind*."

Origen confirms this view in his Commentaries on Matthew, c. 15.

The eloquent and learned Tertullian, in his article, De Resurrectione, says: "Christ is to be received in the cause of life; to be devoured by hearing; to be ruminated upon by the mind, and digested by faith."[5]

Saint Cyprian (de coena Domini) says: "Faith is for the soul the same that food is for the flesh."[6]

Saint Cyril, bishop of Alexandria from A. D. 412 to A. D. 444, writes as follows:[7] "Dost thou say our sacrament is the *eating of a man*, and dost thou irreverently force the mind of the faithful into gross cogitations, and goest thou about with natural imag-

[1] De Sacramento, L. IV.

[2] In his treatise contra Eutychetum.

[3] "Non desinit esse substantia panis vel natura vini."

[4] Opera Theod. Tom. IV. p. 126.

[5] "Christus in causa vitæ recipiendus, devorandus auditu; ruminandus intellectu; et fide digerendus est."

[6] "Quod est esca carni hoc est animæ fides."

[7] Anathematismo, II.

inations, to deal with those things that are to be received by only pure and perfect faith."

Leo, bishop of Rome, A. D. 440–461, says:[1] "About this body gather eagles, which fly with spiritual wings, the wings of faith."

To finish this point, let us consult Augustine, that saint of the Romish calendar, a devout man and clear witness, as *you* describe him. He tells us,[2] "What we see is bread; what the eyes present to us is the cup; but that which faith would teach is, that the bread is the body of Christ, and the cup his blood."[3] And again he says, "Christ has lifted up his body into heaven, from which he shall come to judge the quick and the dead. There he is now sitting at the right hand of the Father. How then is the bread his body, and the cup, or what is in the cup, how is it his blood?" Again,[4] "We have no special regard to the bread, wine, or water, for they are *creatures corruptible*, as well after consecration as they were before, but we direct our faith only unto the very body and blood of Christ, not as being there really and fleshly present, but as sitting in heaven at the right of God the Father."

What could be more clear, what more explicit; and yet in the face of this mass of testimony, regardless of ancient popes and saints, the pope bids

[1] Quoted in the Canon Law, Dist. 2.

[2] In sermone ad Infantes, quoted in the Canon Law, Dist. 11.

[3] "Quod videtur panis est et calix quod etiam oculi renuntiant. Quod autem fides postulat instruenda, panis est corpus Christi; Calix Sanguis."

[4] In Genes, Hom. 24.

you at "the elevation of the host," and the tinkling of a bell, to prostrate yourself in adoration of these "corruptible creatures." This brings me to another usurpation, the strange doctrine of Purgatory. Until the Council of Trent, three centuries since, a Roman Catholic was not required to receive it as an article of faith, but the sale of masses, pardons, and indulgencies, to raise funds for Rome, had been so extensive that the Church of Rome was then compelled, under the pressure of the Reformers, to endeavor to sustain itself by adopting Purgatory as an article of faith.

You rest Purgatory on St. Peter's 1st Epistle,[1] in substance as follows: "That Christ died for our sins, but enlivened in the spirit, *preached to those spirits that were in prison.*" To my mind this verse is made clear by the verse which follows, in which "spirits" are spoken of as disobedient in the time of Noah, in consequence of which only eight souls were saved. St. Peter speaks, also, in his second Epistle, of "being in this tabernacle," of "putting off this tabernacle himself, as his Lord Jesus had shown him."[2] He speaks of those "who walk after the flesh, in the lust of uncleanness, as servants of corruption, for of whom a man is overcome, of the same is he brought in bondage." The exposition of the verses you cite, is, to my mind, perfectly easy. In the time of Noah, those spirits imprisoned in the flesh, were disobedient, and all perished, except the eight souls saved with Noah. But in the days of the apostles, our Saviour having put off the flesh, appeared in his spiritual nature to

[1] 1 Peter 3: 18: 19. [2] 2 Peter 2: 19.

his disciples, who were spirits still in the prison of the flesh, and preached to them in their prison, and by his baptism, previously conferred, and his resurrection and ascent into heaven, where he has power over all, saved them as God saved Noah and his associates in the ark.

This is my exposition as a jurist, and I expound the passage as I would a deed, by the context, and other deeds of the grantor; and if you will read the third chapter of St. Peter's first Epistle, from the sixteenth verse to the close, I think you will agree with me, he is advising his followers to keep a good conscience, to preserve their spiritual nature pure while still tenants of corruptible flesh, and still prisoners here; for Christ suffered for them, appeared and preached to them, and ascended into heaven, where he has power to save those who obey, as Noah saved the righteous few in his ark. But is the unnatural, or at least doubtful, exposition of a single verse by the Roman See, an exposition apparently bent to a particular purpose, and not sustained by our Saviour or his apostles in any other part of the gospels, a sufficient basis for the doctrine of *Purgatory?* The Greek, or Eastern church, now established in Russia, Austria, Turkey, and Greece, *does not admit* the doctrine of Purgatory, and yet the Eastern and Western bishops differed *principally*, if not *entirely*, on the question of Easter-day, when the two churches separated. May we not safely infer from this fact, that it is an innovation of the Western church? But you think that Purgatory has been admitted by the holy fathers. If so, where and when? St. Augustine certainly knew of no such

admission, and could not convince himself of its truth; he says, "that such a thing may be after this life, is not incredible." "But what means this," he adds, "and what sins be there which so prevent men from coming into the kingdom of God that they may notwithstanding obtain pardon by the merits of holy friends, it is very hard to find, and very dangerous to determine. Certainly, I myself, notwithstanding great study and travail in that behalf, could never attain to the knowledge of it." Again, he says, "For such as every man in this day shall die, even such on that day shall he be judged."

And to this effect elsewhere.[1]

Surely St. Augustine did not put the Romish construction on the verse in Peter, or see his way clear to believe in Purgatory. If it rests neither on Scripture, or the early canons and councils of the church, and I refer you to each, is it not a Romish innovation upon Holy Writ?

I will discuss other errors of Rome in subsequent letters.

Very sincerely and affectionately yours.

[1] De comitate Dei, Epistolæ 80, Hom. 11, In apocalyps. Ad Petrum, Cap 3, In Johan. Tract 49.

LETTER VI.

Boston, February 25, 1853.

My Dear S. . . : — In my preceding letter I adverted to the errors of Rome, in partially withholding the Lord's supper from the people, in the *adoration* of mere bread and wine, and in the adoption of Purgatory, as an article of faith, for which St. Augustine can find no authority. Let us now consider the supremacy and infallibility claimed for the pope. I am aware the Romish church divides on this question into the Cisalpine and Transalpine parties. A portion, including the monarchs and bishops of France, restrain such prerogative, and require the concurrence of general councils in new articles of faith. Both parties, however, claim to be Roman Catholics. I might well ask whether this schism is not quite as serious, as some of the questions which divide the Protestants, the question of a liturgy or oral prayers, the question of baptism by sprinkling or immersion, or the government by presbyters or bishops with a council in either case. I will not pause to dwell on this point, but will consider the doctrine of a large portion of the Church of Rome, that the pope is personally infallible, and also, by divine right supreme.

The man who joins the Roman Catholics, is obliged "publicly to repeat and certify his assent

to its creed, without qualification and restriction." That creed contains the following sentence: —

"I promise (or swear) true obedience to the Roman bishop, the successor of St. Peter, the prince of the apostles and vicar of Jesus Christ." And the further sentence, "This true Catholic faith, out of which none can be saved, which I now freely profess and truly hold, I, A. B., or C. D., promise, now and ever, most constantly to hold and profess, whole and entire, with God's assistance, to the end of my life."

What is this power to be obeyed to the end of life, as held and exercised by the popes of Rome?

The above creed "was set forth" by Pope Pius IV. A. D. 1564, as the universally received summary of the Roman Catholic system.[1]

His successor, Pius V., by a bull issued under his plenary power, undertook to depose Queen Elizabeth, and absolve her subjects from allegiance, and the Roman Catholic prelates generally acquiesced. Here is an illustration of the temporal power, claimed and exercised by the pope, whom the Roman Catholic swears to obey.

As to his spiritual power, Butler, a modern and able Roman Catholic, in his work published a few years since,[2] defines the spiritual power of the pope as follows: —

"It is an article of the Roman Catholic faith, that the pope has by divine right, first, a supremacy of rank; second, a supremacy of jurisdiction in the spiritual concerns of the Roman Catholic church,

[1] See the Church of Rome, by Bishop Hopkins, p. 336.

[2] Entitled the "Book of the Roman Catholic Church," p. 114.

and third, the principal authority in defining articles of faith. In consequence of these prerogatives, the pope holds a rank splendidly preëminent over the highest dignitaries of the church; has a right to convene councils, and preside over them by himself or his legates, and confirm the election of bishops. Every ecclesiastical cause may be brought to him as the last resort by appeal; he may promulgate definitions and formularies of faith to the universal church, and when the general body or a great majority of her prelates have assented to them, either by formal consent, or *tacit* assent, *all* are bound to acquiesce in them. Rome, they say in such a case, has spoken, and the cause is determined."

The Transalpine party go much further. Prienas, the champion of the pope against Luther, who died A. D. 1523, used even stronger language: "Indulgences are not known to us by the authority of the Scriptures, but by the authority of the Roman church, and of the bishops of Rome, which is greater."[1] It is unnecessary to follow out the transalpine theories to their full extent, for without them we have shown the nature and extent of this supremacy and infallibility.

Claiming to represent the humble fisherman, St. Peter, who, apostle as he was, erred more than once, both before and after the crucifixion, and who deserved as well as received the rebuke of both our Saviour and St. Paul, the bishops of Rome have in the seventh century first denounced, and then grasped at the rank of universal bishops. Commenc-

[1] Prienas con. Lutherum.

ing with no territory in the eighth century, and acquiring by gift, first Ravenna, and by slow degrees the other States of the church, during ages debased by ignorance, the parent of superstition, we find them, in 1564, wielding alike the civil and spiritual sword, subjecting Holy Writ to their dominion, and arrogating in addition the power to depose monarchs, and absolve subjects from their allegiance, and find the Romish church assenting, if not approving.

What intelligent American, who respects the words of Holy Writ, the precepts of the apostles, the testimony of the fathers, who loves his country, reveres her laws, takes pride in her independence, who is "bound to swear to the words of no master," [1] who would not change his creed or his faith at the bidding of others, and who, if he joins the Church of Rome, cannot obey his future convictions of duty, without becoming an apostate, would venture to adopt and profess the Roman Catholic faith in the nineteenth century? Recur to the past. Have your opinions been so unchangeable, and your obedience so exact, and is your knowledge at seventeen so perfect, that you have entire confidence in yourself for the whole residue of life?

Compare for a moment the meek bishop of Rome in the second century, with the proud pontiff of modern times, "elected by cardinals, who place him on the high altar, thrice bow their knees to him in *adoration*, then bear him to a throne, place on his head the triple crown, and remind him that he is the

[1] "Nullius addictus jurare in verba magistri." — JUVENAL.

father of princes and kings, and the ruler of the world, the vicar of Jesus Christ our Saviour." Where was the tiara, the sword of church and state, where the ruler of the world, when the blessed Basil, bishop of Cappadocia A. D. 370, writes to the blessed Athanasius, pope of Alexandria, to interest the bishops of the Western Empire in behalf of their Eastern brethren, and urges, "Who is more *influential* in performing such a design than thou, who is more *acute* in discovering what is expedient, who more *efficient* in performing what is profitable, who more *prone* to grieve for the afflictions of his brethren? *What* is more highly *venerated* than *thy hoary head* by the whole *Western church?*" "Send some men from thy church who are powerful in sound doctrines to the Western bishops." In the same letter, St. Basil speaks of the church of Antioch, as "the head of the churches," and of the church of Nicopolis, as the "*Mother* church."[1] Why is there not here some slight allusion to Rome, or to her sovereign pontiff, if he then existed as a power sufficient to influence and guide the Western bishops? Where were the supremacy and infallibility of Rome, when the "most blessed Jerome" wrote, about the close of the fourth century, as follows: "Gaul and Britain, Africa, India, and the East, and all the barbarous nations adore one Christ, observe one rule of truth; if authority is sought for, the world is greater than one city; wherever there is a bishop, whether at Rome, or Eugubium, or Con-

[1] See Basil, Ep. Athanasio Opera Omnia, Vol. III. p. 159.

stantinople, or Rhegium, or Alexandria, or Sardis, he is of the same excellency, of the same episcopate."[1]

By Butler's summary of the universal doctrine of the Roman Catholics as to the supremacy, we see the power is now conceded to the pope of Rome, by all Roman Catholics, to convene councils and preside over them himself or by his legates, but the blessed Athanasius, who shone at the great Councils of Nice and Sardis, attended by more than three hundred bishops, informs us they were both called by the emperor; that the bishop of Rome attended both by his legates, and on both occasions the venerable Hosius, a bishop of Spain, who must have represented one of St. Paul's churches, presided, while the Emperor Constantine addresses Athanasius as Pope Athanasius. History is silent as to the pretensions of the see of Rome to infallibility and supremacy at these celebrated councils. What a contrast do they present to the Council of Trent and the modern claims of the "ruler of the world!"

And when we see this pretended "ruler of the world," seated as he is, at his coronation, on the high altar of St. Peters, and the cardinals kneeling before him in adoration; when we see in the Clementines and decretals, sanctioned by the popes, and cited by Jewell, such expressions as these, "The pope is not man," "The pope is the wonder of the world," "Stupor Mundi," "Our Lord God the pope." When we read the profane language of his champions, Marcellus, Cardellus, and Angellus, "Thou art another God on earth," "Purgatory is the do-

[1] Hieron. Evagrio Opera Omnia, Vol. II. p. 221.

main of the pope," "A terrestrial God," what think you of the prophecy of St. Paul,[1] that before the day of Christ there shall "come a falling away, and the man of sin be revealed, the son of perdition, who opposeth and exalteth himself above all that is called God, or that is worshipped; so that he as God, sitteth in the temple of God, showing himself that he is God." "Even him whose coming is after the working of Satan, with all power and signs and lying wonders, and with all the deceivableness of unrighteousness in them that perish;" "and for this cause God shall send them strong delusions that they should believe a lie." "Therefore, brethren, stand fast, and *hold* the *traditions* which ye have been taught, whether by *word* or our *epistle*." And is there not reason to apply the predictions of St. Peter himself against his successors,[2] in which he counsels his followers "to add to your faith virtue, and to virtue knowledge," and other acquirements; "for if ye do these things ye shall never fall;" for "there shall be false teachers among you, who privily shall bring in damnable heresies, even denying the Lord that bought them," "and many shall follow their pernicious ways," and "through covetousness shall they with feigned words make merchandise of you." Does St. Peter, when he speaks of adding to faith virtue, and to virtue knowledge, sanction the dogma of Rome that "ignorance is the mother of devotion," and when he speaks of damnable heresies to be avoided by faith, virtue, and knowledge, and speaks of those who shall deny the Lord, and with feigned words make

[1] 2 Thessalonians 2: 3, 4, 9, 10, 11, 15.
[2] 2 Peter 1: 5, 6, 7, 8, 10, and 2: 1–3.

merchandise of man, does he not caution his followers against the dangers of ignorance as well as vice; against those who exalt the creature above the Creator, and against those who by pardons, indulgences and masses, shrines, relics, crosiers, and tiaras, by images, candles, and purgatory, make merchandise of men? Should not the sinner, to save himself, instead of listening to feigned words, add to his faith knowledge and virtue, and hold fast to the word and the epistles of the apostles?

And let me ask you when the Roman Catholic church adopts as an article of its faith in modern times, the supremacy of the pope, claimed and exercised by that prelate, and the further articles of purgatory and transubstantiation, can you say with confidence that "church has not varied one iota in the faith from the time of the apostles down?"

But the topic is exhausted. Let us pass to the adoration of the Virgin Mary, of saints, images, shrines, and relics, as practised by the Church of Rome, abuses which crept into the church during the ages of superstition and barbarism; when the Roman Catholics held that "ignorance was the mother of devotion;" that "ignorance highly pleaseth God and is sufficient to salvation," or, as Cardinal Cusanus expresses it, "Irrational obedience is the most perfect obedience."[1]

But these topics must prolong my correspondence to another letter.

Yours, truly and affectionately.

[1] "Obedientia irrationalis est consummata obedientia." Nicol. Cusan. Excit. L. VI. Ubi Ecclesia.

LETTER VII.

Boston, February 26, 1853.

My dear S...: — In my preceding letters I pointed out to you how much the supremacy and infallibility of the popes of Rome were at variance with the pretensions of St. Peter, both before and after the crucifixion; how much they conflicted with the equal rights conferred on both Western and Eastern bishops before the Council of Nice; and how far they exceeded the very equal and moderate power given by that great Council of Bishops, over which Hosius, of Spain, presided, to the patriarchs of Rome, Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem. I showed you also how the See of Rome, gradually extending its arms and its claims during ages of barbarism and superstition, has created a sovereign who assumes the triple crown, the civil and spiritual sword, arrogates the power to depose sovereigns, to absolve subjects from allegiance, receives adoration on the high altar of our Lord, a sovereign to whom, if you join the Church of Rome, you are to promise or *swear* implicit and enduring obedience.

Let us now glance at some of the abuses which the usurper has sanctioned in his path to power. Let us consider the worship of the Virgin Mary, of saints, images, relics, and shrines.

St. Paul, in Holy Writ, gives the assurance that

"Neither have we any other Mediator and Intercessor by whom we may have access to God the Father, but only Jesus Christ: in whose name only all things are obtained at his Father's hands."[1]

But the Church of Rome worships the Virgin Mary, and allows such *adoration* to be offered to her as follows: —

"Holy Mother of God, who hast worthily merited to conceive him whom the whole world could not comprehend, by thy *pious intervention*, wash away our sins, that so being *redeemed by thee* we may be able to ascend to the seat of everlasting glory, where thou abidest with thy son forever."[2]

And again a similar worship and prayer: —

"Let our voice *first* celebrate Mary, through whom the rewards of life are given unto us. O *queen*, thou who art a mother and yet a chaste virgin, *pardon* our sins through thy son."[3] Even Cardinal Bembus, the pope's secretary, in an official letter to Charles V., the great Emperor of Spain and Germany,[4] calls the virgin "our lady and goddess." And the seaman when he commenced his voyage, the palmer when he began his pilgrimage, and the knight when he went forth to fight the Saracen, were sent to pay their orisons at her shrine, and to bow before her image.

Again, the churches have been filled with her pictures and statues, and with images of saints. A patron saint has been found for nearly every Roman

[1] See 1 Timothy 2: 5. Rom. 8: 34. Eph. 2: 18. 3: 12.
[2] See Collect in Hor. Paris, Fol. 4.
[3] Ibid. Fol. 80.
[4] Bembus, in Epist. ad Carol. V.

Catholic village, and saints have been recognized for various diseases, to whom sufferers are encouraged to address *prayers*, and to make votive offerings if relief be obtained. The images of the virgin, and saints with their shrines, like the statues of the heathen divinities, and like the shrine of the chaste goddess Diana at Ephesus, against which St. Paul bore witness, have been fashioned from precious metals, and decorated with gold, silver, and jewels.

Statues and images are borne in solemn procession through churches and streets, with pomp, ceremony, and display. Waxen candles have been burned before them, while salt, oil, legends, and relics, real or pretended, have been, and are still used with imposing ceremonies, to impress the ignorant and superstitious.

Now let me ask you, because the Holy Virgin is said in Holy Writ to be blessed among women, and is called blessed in our prayerbook, and in the writings of St. Augustine, does it follow, as a necessary consequence, that she is to be made the *queen* of heaven, created a *deity* and a *goddess*, endowed with the power of pardoning sins, and that the follower of Christ must bow his knee before her image and shrine, enriched with gold and jewels, like those of the Virgin Diana of the Ephesians, and is he to present his gifts at her altar, and offer up his adoration to her image, or herself?

If this homage was sanctioned by our Saviour or his apostles, or authorized by the councils of the Catholic church during the first two centuries, refer me to the authorities. As respects the use of images in churches, not only is it against the

language of Scripture, but the Council convened at Grenada, Spain, about A. D. 300, and still held in high respect, condemn the practice. The blessed Augustine, Tertullian, Lactantius, with Theodorus, bishop of Ancyra, join in the condemnation of such a usage; and Epiphanius, bishop of Salamis, in Cyprus, where St. Paul planted a church, who died about the age of seventy, A. D. 403, on his return from Constantinople, writes as follows: "My children, be mindful that ye bring no images into the churches, and that ye erect none in the cemeteries of the saints, but evermore carry God in your hearts. Nay, suffer not images to be; no not in your private houses, for it is not lawful to lead a Christian man by his eyes, but rather by the study and exercise of his mind."[1]

The same bishop adds in a passage cited on the same page, "Therefore when I saw the image of a man to hang in the church of Christ, contrary to the commandment of Scriptures, I tare it in sunder, and gave counsel to the wardens of that church that they should wind and bury some poor body in it." A very summary act of the bishop of the diocese, and certainly a novel use for paintings.

The introduction of images appears to have had little countenance from the church, until the Empress Irene, after the pope of Rome assumed the title of Catholic, convened the second Council of Nice, as late as A. D. 787, and awed that tumultuous meeting into a compliance with her wishes. The Council of Frankfort, A. D. 794, approved a book of the Emperor

[1] Epiphanius, cited in Jewell's Apology, page 150.

Charlemagne, censuring the decision of the second Council of Nice, and forbidding the worship of images. And do you not discover in the use of images in churches a conformity to the heathens, whose divinities had their statues of gold and marble?

By the host held on high, and borne in solemn procession through the streets, are you not reminded of the sacred fire of the Persians, which they termed Orimasda, their god, and which their kings used to carry before them on horseback? And do not the waxen candles remind you of the vestal fires of the pagan Romans? Has not the church lent itself to their idolatry to increase its influence? Give me, if you can, the sanction of our Saviour or his apostles for the adoration of the virgin or the saints, for kneeling before their shrines or images, or decorating them with gold, silver, or votive offerings, or approving of palls, mitres, crosiers, or tiaras, or of indulgences and purgatory, of relics, shrines, and waxen candles, of innumerable holidays, carnivals, and jubilees, and last, not least, directing the elevation and adoration of the host.

I pass to the next important topic, the celibacy of the Roman Catholic clergy. We have the authority of Holy Writ for the fact that St. Peter, the alleged founder and *first prelate* of the Church of Rome, was himself a *married man*, for we find[1] that when Jesus was come unto Peter's house, "He saw his *wife's* mother laid and sick of a fever, and he touched her hand and the fever left her, and she arose and ministered unto them." He mentions also his *son* Mar-

[1] Matthew 8: 14.

cus.[1] This, however, may have been Mark, the apostle. St. Peter, also,[2] speaks of the marriage state as honorable, for he names, among the holy women of old who trusted in the Lord, Sarah, who obeyed her husband Abraham, God's chosen prophet and minister. He directs wives to be chaste and gentle, to obey their husbands, and thus win them to the truth, and to seek the ornament of a meek and quiet spirit, a priceless jewel in the sight of God, preferable to plaiting the hair, or wearing of gold or apparel. He counsels husbands to *honor* and *dwell* with their wives as common heirs of the grace of life, so that their prayers be not hindered, and[3] counsels all he addresses "to be ready to give an answer to every one that asketh them for the hope that is in them." And St. Paul, addressing Timothy in one of the Eastern churches, whose observances the Greek church now follows, writes, "A bishop then must be blameless, the husband of one wife."[4] The early historians of the church, Sozemen and Theophylactus, commend the marriage of the clergy, and two of the earliest provincial councils held at Ancyra and Gangra in Paphligonia, the latter A. D. 360; and some of the earliest canons of the Eastern churches authorize the marriage of men in holy orders. Some learned doctors among the Roman Catholics admit that the marriage of the clergy was lawful until the era of Pope Siricus, bishop of Rome, A. D. 385.

The blessed Chrysostom, who lived twenty years after this period, expressly says, that "It is an honest

[1] 1 Peter 5 : 13.
[2] Ibid. 3 : 1–6.
[3] Ibid. 3 : 16.
[4] 1 Timothy 3 : 2.

and lawful thing for a man living in matrimony, to take upon him therewith the dignity of a bishop." Chrysostom was himself a presbyter of Antioch, one of the most ancient seats of Christianity, and subsequently bishop of Constantinople, the seat of empire.

I find by reference to the standard work of McCulloch, that in Russia, which A. D. 1838 contained fifty-nine millions of people, more than fifty millions were of the Greek church, and the residue either Lutherans, Mahometans, or Pagans, with some Catholics, principally in the provinces last conquered. I find it there stated, under the head of religion, that the uniform practice in the Greek church, is for those taking holy orders to marry. Indeed, the canon law is so imperative, that no priest or bishop is allowed to officiate until he enters the holy state of marriage, and upon the death of his wife, is suspended until he marries again. The church is guided by a patriarch, whose predecessor removed to Russia from Constantinople upon the fall of the Greek empire. And it is well understood that the female members of the Greek church, stand higher with respect to chastity, than females in Roman Catholic countries. If, then, the theory of the Romish church should be assumed to be true, that our Saviour selected Peter to be the future ruler of his church, and intrusted to him the gates of heaven, he selected for the first prelate a married man, one who approved of marriage in the clergy, for he refers to Abraham, God's chosen prophet and minister, who was ready to sacrifice his son Isaac upon the altar, and refers also to Sarah, his holy wife, and bids the husbands to "honor and dwell with their wives, the coheirs of salvation."

Does not Peter, by his example, his *citation*, and his *precepts*, clearly show that bishops and priests may marry; and are his successors holier than their alleged first bishop, the first and oldest apostle of our Saviour, or more deserving of respect than the holy fathers who lived before the inroads of barbarism, and were accustomed to visit the churches planted by the apostles?

Again, let us recur to the fact, that Greek and Romish churches were governed by the same councils and rules, until they separated upon the mere question of Easter-day. In the words of the blessed Jerome, "Gaul and Britain and Africa, the East, and India, and all the barbarous nations adored *one Christ*, and observed *one rule* of truth in the early ages of Christianity," and you observe he includes "the British almost severed from the world."[1] In the Greek church, the marriage of the clergy is not only authorized, but absolutely required. Now if we find that the marriage of the clergy has been found conducive to virtue, and a check to profligacy; if we see a precedent for it in the party alleged to be the first primate of Rome, and in the precepts of St. Peter; if we find further, that the bishops of the Greek churches, the modern representative of the Eastern, uniformly adhere to the ancient usage, have we not an accumulation of evidence that the Romish church has departed from the truth?

And whether you ascribe it to the ascetic rules of monks, who aspired to unusual sanctity in the dark ages, to a desire to sink all worldly and carnal

[1] "Et penitus toto divisis orbe Britannis."

thoughts in a devotion to God, or, what may well be argued from established facts, to a deep design on the part of the Roman pontiffs, to secure a devotion to the advancement of their power, the constrained celibacy of the clergy has no sanction in the early church. Indeed, such departures from the truth are predicted by the great Apostle to the Gentiles, inspired by a heavenly vision, who foretells[1] "That in the latter days some shall depart from the faith, giving heed to seducing spirits, forbidding to marry, and commanding to abstain from meats, which God has created to be received with thanksgiving of them which believe and know the truth."

In my next letters I will notice your replies, and draw a few deductions from the errors of Rome.

Yours, truly and affectionately.

[1] 1 Timothy 4: 1, 3.

LETTER VIII.

Boston, February 27, 1853.

My dear S. . . : — I acknowledge your several letters of February 14th, 19th, and 24th, to which I propose to reply *seriatim*, after disposing of all that remains of your letter of the 4th current, in which you advance the following bold propositions, namely, that the Church of Rome is

1. The only universal or Catholic church.
2. The only apostolic or primitive church.
3. The only church which has preserved its unity.
4. That no dissenters from the authority of the pope existed before the time of Luther.
5. That the Catholic church has not varied one iota in the faith from the time of the apostles.
6. That if you can be shown one place (where men have any idea of the Christian religion) where Roman Catholicism does not exist, you will be a Protestant.
7. That the Episcopal church has neither unity, catholicity, nor apostolicity, and is of course heretical.
8. You ask where is he to whom the keys of heaven and hell are given, and the church to which God has promised the gates of hell shall not prevail against it, and without doubt refer to St. Peter and the Church of Rome.

I have felt it my duty to pause in my professional pursuits, and assail each of these positions. I assail them with such forces as a layman may command. You make a partial defence, and then propose to change your ground and present a new question for discussion, which I now learn comes from a Roman Catholic bishop. You propose to discuss the intentions of our Saviour, to assume that he would create a church sufficient to teach his gospel to those born after his crucifixion, and to draw from such intentions, and the antiquity of the Church of Rome, the inference that it must be the true exponent of the word of God. Is not this mere casuistry? Is it safe for man to assume the intentions of our Saviour? or after assuming these intentions, to infer from that assumption the sufficiency of an ancient church without regarding its errors? This is but a ruse, an artifice, a mere appeal to fancy or superstition, and I cannot permit it to divert me from the facts at issue.

Let me now recur to the points you have advanced. First. I have shown that the Church of Rome does not pervade the world. I have shown the Greek church engrosses a large part of Russia, Turkey, Greece, and Germany, while the Protestant faith is gradually overspreading the globe. I will concede to you, that at the close of the third century the true church of Christ was established and pervaded the world, but it does not follow therefrom that the Church of Rome is the same at this moment, or has the same universality.

Christianity made rapid progress under the teaching of the apostles. It had to encounter in the

Roman Empire, which then embraced the civilized world, a state religion, venerable for its antiquity, its mythology, and its association with both poetry and history. It had its oracles and temples, its sacred fountains and groves, its statues of gods, goddesses, and deified heroes. Its votaries from childhood bowed down to them, and offered worship and sacrifices, and when their religion was assailed, exclaimed, Great is Jupiter, great is Apollo, great is Diana of the Ephesians. Even St. Pauls, in London, occupies the site of the temple of the Virgin Diana.

This religion was sustained by the love of people and princes, by *antiquity*, *universality*, and general *consent*, but in less than four centuries it yielded to the apostles of the Gentiles.

At the close of the second century, Irenæus speaks of the prevalence of the gospel among "the Germans and Celts, the Egyptians, Lybians, and Orientals."

The eloquent Tertullian, A. D. 198, recites: "We are but of yesterday, yet we have filled your empire, your cities, your islands, your castles, your corporate towns, your assemblies, your very camps, your tribes, your companies; your palaces and your temples alone are left to you." And again, "The Parthians, Medes, Persians, the inhabitants of Mesopotamia, Armenia, Phrygia, Cappadocia, Pontus, Egypt, and parts beyond Cyrene, the Romans, tribes of the Getuli, many in the extreme parts of Mauritania and Spain, many nations in Gaul and places in Britain inaccessible to the Roman arms, have been subdued to Christ. The Sarmatians, Dacians, Germans, Scyth-

ians, and many other nations, provinces, and islands to us unknown, are subject to Christ's dominion," and this was at least a century before the accession of the first Christian emperor, and during the reign of Severus. After the victory of Constantine, A. D. 306, under the luminous cross, with its inscription, "conquer by this," Christianity still advanced, and before the middle of the fifth century, about the time of St. Augustine, attained its greatest power under Valentinian and Theodosius. Bishop Hopkins[1] proves by various authors, that at this early period, long before the Roman prelate had claimed the supremacy, or wore the title of universal bishop, and when he certainly was not ruler of the world, that the Christian world contained two thousand bishoprics. Records are now remaining of at least

566	dioceses in	Africa,	estimated to contain	55,000,000 souls.
50	" "	Persia, Asia,	" " "	2,500,000 "
48	"	in the patriarchate of Jerusalem,	Asia,	5,000,000 "
164	" " "	"	Antioch, "	33,000,000 "
400	" " "	"	Constantinople, "	80,000,000 "
200	" " "	"	Europe,	40,000,000 "
300	" "	Italy,		
117	" "	France,		
38	" "	Ireland,		25,250,000 "
50	" "	Britain, Germany, and other places, estimated		

Some of the bishoprics were very large and populous. That of Carthage contained five hundred presbyters. That of Cyrus consisted of eight hundred parishes and sixty thousand farms. The diocese of Cæsarea, over which St. Basil presided, cov-

[1] In his treatise on the Primitive Church, p. 402.

ered an area of ten thousand square miles, and he had under him fifty assistant bishops. The aggregate of each district gives us more than two hundred and forty millions of Christians, more Christians than the entire world now contains. But little more than a century after this, the bishop of Rome usurped the powers of the church, and claimed supremacy. The Greek church seceded. In the year A. D. 622, the baneful crescent rose in the East. Mahomet, with his false faith, invaded a divided empire, and swept before him the churches, people, and civilization of Asia, Africa, and Eastern Europe. The ages of ignorance and superstition followed, and when the Church of Rome insists to-day that she has been since the time of the apostles, universal, catholic, and apostolic, may we not ask, What has she done with those vast and fertile regions, the garden of the world, the seats of arts, commerce, and literature, in which the church was first planted? Where are the five hundred and sixty-six dioceses of Africa, the six hundred and sixty-two dioceses of Asia, and the two hundred bishoprics of Eastern Europe, and the two hundred millions of Christians they contained? Has she not severed herself from them by her ambition? Did she not leave them to perish? Have they not been trodden down by the infidel, and what remains of them but a remnant of Greeks, Maronites, and Nestorians? If the Church of Rome has any existence in these regions, or in the Northern and Eastern provinces of Norway, Sweden, and Russia, it must be in the shape of some feeble missionary or wandering friar. I will not pretend to prove a negative to the claim that a Roman Catholic

there exists, but must ask you to prove that he does exist there, and if he does, that he preaches to any purpose.

And in this connection let me ask, in what part of our own State, Vermont, New Hampshire, and Connecticut, did the Church of Rome exist for the first century after our forefathers landed, for I find no records of its existence.

If your theory is, that a solitary priest, perhaps travelling in disguise, is proof that a religion exists in a country, and is sufficient to prove it universal, then glance at the missions which the Protestants of England, Germany, and the United States have planted throughout the world. The English nation pervades the world. Her morning gun and her banner salute the sun as he rises in every portion of the globe, and the chant of the Episcopal church, or the prayer of the Protestant missionary, ascend from nearly every point touched by the commerce, or reached by the energy of the Anglo-Saxon. Upon your theory, the faith of the Protestant is more diffused, and more universal than that of the Church of Rome.

Yours, truly and affectionately.

LETTER IX.

Boston, February 28, 1853.

My dear S. . . :— You urge that the Church of Rome is the only apostolic and primitive church. In my previous letters I have pointed out to you its numerous departures from the divine word, the rules of the apostles, and ancient usages. Let me draw your attention to a few others. The pope of Rome claims to unite spiritual and temporal power, but St. Paul in his directions to Timothy, an early bishop, expressly charges him to be the soldier of Christ, and not to entangle himself with the affairs of this life.[1] The apostolic canons, which contain the rules by which the church was governed in the second and third centuries, expressly provide, "Let not a bishop, or a priest, or a deacon, undertake temporal offices, but if any should, let him be expelled." How can you reconcile with this *rule*, the triple crown worn by the bishop of Rome, when he assumes the office of a temporal prince at his coronation? How can you reconcile the various and discordant practices of the monks and the monastic life, with the teaching of our Saviour or his apostles, or the earliest usages of the primitive church? Where do you find in Holy Writ directions to found monasteries, or directions to one class of monks or

[1] 2 Timothy 2: 3, 4.

friars to eat fish, and to another to eat herbs on certain days, or imperative orders to some to use sandals, to others to go barefoot, to some to wear woollen, to others to dress in linen, to one set to put on white and another black apparel, or prescribing a broad tonsure to some, and a narrow tonsure to others. I am well aware there were enthusiasts and devotees in the first three centuries, that even devout and pious men sought retirement, and even St. John, in his old age, (and he lived nearly a century,) fled from persecution to the Isle of Patmos, where he had heavenly visions, but I can find no early authority for monasteries and monastic rules. On the contrary, St. Augustine expressly condemns the idle monks who made their appearance in his day, and lived upon others. "We cannot tell (he observes) whether they became monks to serve God, or being weary of a life of poverty and want, were desirous to be fed and clothed in indolence." Again he remarks, "they serve not God, but their own low appetites," and calls the alms they obtain, "the gains of a lucrative poverty, the reward of a *pretended holiness*."[1] And Theodoret, A. D. 420, speaks of *monasteries* as dens of thieves, and commends bishop Letois because he had "chased the wolves from the fold," when he overthrew and burned the Thessalian monasteries. And again, Cardinal Pole, reporting to Pope Paul III., pope of Rome, A. D. 1534, under a commission to view the disorders and deformities of the church, remarks, "Another abuse there is to be reformed in the orders of monks and friars, for many

[1] Augustine de opere, Monach. c. 12, 22, 28.

of them are so vile that they are a shame unto the seculars, and with their example do much ill; as for conventual orders we think it good they should be *all abolished.*" Remember, this is the *official testimony* of an eminent Roman Catholic to the pope, of the vices and impurity of hosts of monks and friars. The church you consider *apostolic*, then overflowed with such *pretended holiness.*

But let us glance for a moment at auricular confession. I do not mean to argue that our Saviour and his apostles did not direct us to confess our sins, but where do you find in the gospels, acts, and letters of the apostles, or apostolic canons, a rule for females to confess in private to the priest, their sins in thought, word, or deed? And permit me to ask, whether, down to A. D. 1560, it was not a question in the Church of Rome, on what authority rested auricular confession, the *canonists* saying it was appointed "by the positive law of man," and the *schoolmen* urging it was appointed by the law of God. Has not the practice been shamefully abused by dissolute priests and friars, and when we find the doctors of the Church of Rome disagree as to the sanction for such a practice, and gross abuses attendant, are we not safe in its rejection?

Again, with respect to the rite or sacrament of baptism. Did our Saviour or his apostles, or their successors, the earliest bishops, or the canons of the primitive church, for centuries, require the applicant for baptism, as a condition precedent, to swear obedience to a temporal prince, or to the bishops of Rome? If so, refer me to your authority. According to

Acts viii. the Apostle Philip, after our Lord's ascension, went down to Samaria and baptized the Samaritans, and even Simon the sorcerer, when they believed; and in his memorable interview with "the man of Ethiopia, a eunuch of great authority under Candace, queen of the Ethiopians, who had charge of all her treasure," he preached unto him Jesus. And when he asked to be baptized, "Philip said, if thou believest with all thy heart, thou mayest. And he answered and said, I believe that Jesus Christ is the Son of God. And he commanded the chariot to stand still, and they went down both into the water, both Philip and the eunuch, and he baptized him." Where was the pope's formulary, where the promise to obey a temporal and spiritual lord, which the bearer of the triple crown now imposes on the followers of Christ? Is there in this particular a close adherence to the primitive apostolic church?

And let me ask you, why should not an apostolic church adhere to such practices alone as reach the age of apostolic authority, and should we not bring the lofty pretensions of the Church of Rome to the severe test of this primitive canon? Irenæus often appealed to the "earliest churches." If the Church of Rome claims immutability from the very age of the apostles, can she sustain herself by modern innovations? The very circumstance of such a claim being preferred, brings the whole matter to the question of a naked historic fact, and by the solution of that question, we prove the Church of Rome guilty of innovation.

The Council of Nice wisely enjoined on the

church, "hold still the ancient customs;" and your favorite Tertullian says with great felicity of expression, "That only is genuine and true which was first delivered, but that which was subsequently introduced is extraneous and false."[1]

The same great master, Tertullian, also tells us that, "Truth being a stranger in the earth, easily finds enemies among strangers, and all she asks is this, that *no one condemn her before he knows her.*" And Vincent of Lirens, one of the strongest advocates for traditions, well remarks, "That in the Catholic church herself, likewise, care is to be taken that we hold that which has been believed everywhere, always, and by all."[2]

With these prefatory remarks, cited from standard Catholic authorities, I recur to your two positions: that the Church of Rome has always preserved her unity, and that there were no dissenters from her authority before the time of Luther.

If the church claims a derivation from the primitive church, was not that unity broken, by her abandonment of the Eastern churches, with at least two thirds of all the bishops, churches, presbyters, and Christians, to which I have already referred. Is there any unity between the Greek and Roman churches at the present moment? Is there any unity between the Church of Rome and the Maronites, Nestorians, Armenians, or Abyssinian churches, which *have* existed for more than ten centuries. I would refer you

[1] "Id esse dominicum et verum quod est prius traditum, id autem extraneum et falsum, quod sit posterius immissum."

[2] Tertullian in Apologetico, c. I. (Vincent Lirens Commentarium, 317.)

also to Gibbon,[1] where he shows the prevalence of the Arian doctrines in the churches of the Roman Empire at the accession of Theodosius, "who claimed the merit of subduing the Arian heresy, and was in fact the first emperor baptized in the faith of the trinity." When he ascended the throne, A. D. 379, just after the death of Athanasius, the Arians, encouraged by the Emperor Valens, himself an Arian, held all the churches of Constantinople, more than one hundred in number.

More than half the churches of the empire were controlled by Arians, when Theodosius proclaimed his own faith, and prescribed the religion of his subjects. "It is our pleasure," such is the imperial style, "that all the nations which are governed by our clemency and moderation, should steadfastly adhere to the religion which was taught by St. Peter to the Romans, which faithful tradition has preserved; and which is now professed by the pontiff Damasus, and by Peter, bishop of Alexandria, a man of apostolic holiness. According to the discipline of the apostles and the doctrine of the gospel, let us believe the sole Deity of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost; under an equal majesty and a pious trinity."

After thus treating the pontiff of Rome and bishop of Alexandria as equal authorities, he proceeds to denounce all dissenters from this doctrine as heretics.

At this time, observes Gibbon,[2] "Constantinople was the principal seat and fortress of Arianism, and

[1] Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, Vol. V. p. 13–23.
[2] Ib. p. 17.

in a long interval of forty years, the faith of the princes and prelates who reigned in the capital of the East, was rejected by the purer schools of Rome and Alexandria."

A contemporary of Theodosius, cited by Gibbon, informs us that at the time of his accession, Constantinople was full of mechanics and slaves, who were all of them profound theologians, and preach in the shops and the streets. If you desire "a man to change a piece of silver, he informs you wherein the Son differs from the Father. If you ask the price of a loaf, you are told by way of reply, the Son is inferior to the Father; and if you inquire if the bath be ready, you are told the Son was made out of nothing," so pervading was the faith of the Arians, and so deeply had their views entered into the bosoms, and interwoven themselves with the thoughts of the people.

Theodosius made Gregory, of the Athanasian or Catholic faith, archbishop of his capital, and Gibbon observes,[1] "That the glittering arms which surrounded his person, were necessary to his safety, and that he alone was the object of the imprecations of a great party, whom as men and citizens it was impossible for him to despise. He beheld the innumerable multitude of either sex and of every age who crowded the streets, the windows, and the roofs of houses; he heard the tumultuous voice of rage, grief, and astonishment and despair, and Gregory fairly confesses, that on the day of his installation, the capital of the East wore the appearance of a city

[1] Decline and Fall, Vol. V. p. 24.

taken by storm, and in the hands of a barbarian conqueror." But Theodosius prevailed. The Arian archbishop retired to a life of poverty and exile.

Theodosius announced his intention to expel from all the churches of his empire the Arian bishops and their clergy. His lieutenant, Sapor, "was armed with the ample powers of a general law, a special commission, and a military force, and this ecclesiastical revolution was conducted with so much discretion and vigor, that the religion of the emperor was established without tumult or bloodshed in all the provinces of the East." Gibbon relates that Theodosius then proceeded, with the aid of the celebrated St. Ambrose, bishop of Milan, to abolish paganism, which down to this period had been the prevailing religion of the nobles, senate, and people of Rome, and a large proportion of the Roman Empire, but the bishop of Rome appears to have made no figure on this great occasion.

After Theodosius had disposed of the Arians, another great sect, the Donatists, arose, and during the whole of the fifth century disturbed the unity of the primitive church. By reference to Gibbon,[1] you will find that this sect was inclined to the principles of the Arians; that "the Donatist bishops at the Council of Carthage, amounted to two hundred and seventy-nine, and they asserted their whole number was not less than four hundred. The Catholics had two hundred and eighty-six present, one hundred and twenty absent, beside sixty-four vacant bishopries. The Emperor Honorius, after the death of Theodo-

[1] Decline and Fall, Vol. VII. p. 16.

sius, issued decrees against the Donatists, of which the fifty-fourth was the most severe and effectual. A regular scale of fines, of from ten to two hundred pounds of silver, was established. Some were reconciled to the church, but many were provoked to madness, and the distracted country was filled with tumult and bloodshed. After the death of St. Augustine, who was released in the 76th year of his age from the impending calamities of his country, the Arian king of the Vandals, combining with the Donatists, conquered the principal provinces of Africa, captured Carthage, established an African kingdom, and restored the Arian and Donatist bishops to their sees and churches. Gibbon, in his narrative, in describing the death of St. Augustine, says he left more than two hundred and thirty-two separate books and treatises, that "he possessed a strong, capacious, argumentative mind; he boldly sounded the dark abyss of grace, predestination, freewill, and original sin, and the rigid system of Christianity which he framed or restored, has been entertained with public applause and secret reluctance by the Latin church. The Church of Rome has canonized Augustine and reprobated Calvin, yet as the *real* difference between them is invisible even to a theological microscope; the Molinists are oppressed by the authority of the saint, and the Jansenists are disgraced by their resemblance to the heretic."

From the books of this early Catholic saint, sprung the bitter but no less famous controversy between the Jesuits and the Jansenists, which has for several centuries divided the Church of Rome, the former maintaining the free agency of man, the latter denying

his ability to work at all in his own salvation. Keen arguments, decrees of universities and councils of cardinals, edicts of princes, have been mustered on either side. The pope and the kings of France at length took up the cause of the Jesuits, prevailed, and oppressed the obnoxious Jansenism, although it is still more or less openly professed in many Roman Catholic countries.

Allow me to ask, in conclusion, what division between Protestants on articles of faith is more serious, than the differences in the Roman Catholic church on the subject of the trinity, the difference as to grace and freewill, and the difference between the Greek and Latin churches, the Nestorians, Maronites, and Abyssinians still subsisting? Can a church which has partaken, and still partakes of such dissensions, a church which has, since the days of the apostles, regardless of the rules and practice of our Saviour, his apostles, and the primitive church, admitted new observances and worship, adopted purgatory, transubstantiation, the supremacy of the pope, and other innovations as articles of faith or practice, claim to be in truth the only church which has preserved unity, and had no dissenters down to the time of Luther?

Yours, truly and affectionately.

LETTER X.

Boston, March 1, 1853.

My dear S...:— Having disposed of the "Unity" claimed for the Church of Rome, I now come to your position, that the Episcopal church is neither ancient, catholic, or apostolic.

In discussing this question, let us not forget that the divisions of Protestants may be ascribed in some degree to the errors of Rome. The abuses which crept into the church during the dark ages had risen to such a height in the days of the Reformers as to awaken the indignant feelings of the public, and cause a general outbreak. Extremes beget extremes. Revolutions tend to violence and disorder; and when the people rose almost *en masse* to sweep away the abuses of Rome, to war against images, legends, traditions, and monastic vices, to test by the Word of God the standard of faith, it followed of necessity that many would lose sight of the *good* amid the *mass* of evil, and fail to distinguish some of the rules and rituals established by the apostles from the innovations of the Romish church. Nor is it surprising that the Reformers, when defining their faith without the aid of councils, divided on some of the questions discussed and adjudicated by the early councils of the church. Need we wonder that some should prefer presbyters to bishops, some rely on

grace, and others upon freewill; that some should give the preference to immersion, others to sprinkling; that some should reject the liturgy, and some differ upon the Arian faith, which divided the primitive church both before and after the day of Athanasius?

Is it safe, however, to infer from such distinctions, that they were all wrong in rejecting the errors and innovations of Rome? Concede some Protestants have fallen into error, it by no means follows, as a necessary consequence, that the Church of Rome we have proved to be neither united, catholic, or apostolic, is the only true church. On the contrary, the very reverse should be inferred from so general a dissent from her form of worship and articles of faith.

When we ask which is the true catholic church, we must not ask which makes the boldest claims and professions, for professions are not the tests of truth; we must not ask which is most widely diffused or dominant, for the Arians had the ascendency during the early life of St. Ambrose, St. Chrysostom, and St. Athanasius, and rode rampant over the church; but we must ask which church can best show its apostolic succession, which church, tested by Holy Writ, by the canons of the apostles, and the authentic record of the church to the close of the first century, when St. John, the survivor of the apostles, was still alive, approaches most closely to the apostolic standard, and I will submit to you the claims of our Episcopal church to the precedence.

We derive this church from the English, which traces its bishops in direct succession from the apostles, and it will be my effort to prove that the Church of

England was planted in Britain in the first century by St. Paul, or his immediate converts, and was for centuries entirely independent of Rome, governed by its own bishops and archbishops, that it has through every age struggled to preserve its independence, and in a greater or less degree opposed the errors of Rome, and now, purged of its errors, claims to be the true apostolic and catholic church. But before I trace the history and succession of this church, let me briefly advert to its articles of faith and form of government. Its faith is founded on Holy Writ, the apostolic canons, and in part on the decisions of the earliest councils, including the great Council of Nice. If it has deviated materially from this primitive standard, point out the discrepancy. As respects the form of government, it is overlooked and guided by bishops, who trace their succession from the apostles. During feudal times, some of these were lords temporal in England. But no American bishop wields any temporal power, he bears here only the spiritual sword. As respects the office of bishop, the apostles at first appointed presbyters and deacons to direct the church under their guidance. This was in the infancy of the church. As the disciples increased, and the apostles pursued their mission in different regions, the more distinguished presbyters were selected as "angeli or episcopi," legates or bishops. James, supposed to be the brother of our Lord,[1] presided at the first council at Jerusalem, and pronounced the decree "I judge," etc., which was confirmed by his associates; and during the lifetime of St. John, in apostolic days, numerous bishops were appointed, for he addresses his

[1] Acts 15: 12, 28.

Revelation from Patmos to the seven angels or bishops of the churches of Asia, namely, Ephesus, Smyrna, Pergamos, Thyatira, Sardis, Philadelphia, and Laodicea. The English bishops claim a succession from St. John, through Polycarp his disciple, bishop of Symrna, and the great historian Eusebius, who had access to the early church records, has preserved the succession of the bishops of Jerusalem, Rome, Alexandria, and Antioch, from the apostolic period down to A. D. 305, fifteen years before the Council of Nice, when he wrote his history. In his list, Linus, a friend of St. Paul, a *married man*, a prince of Britain, appears as *first* bishop of Rome, Amianus as first of Alexandria, James, presumed to be the brother of our Lord, as first of Jerusalem, and Evodius as first of Antioch; and by the same authority, Linus, bishop of Rome, presided over the church of that city from A. D. 67 to A. D. 79, when he was succeeded by Anacletus, and on his death, A. D. 91, by Clement. The liturgy of the Episcopal church corresponds closely with that early used in the church of Ephesus, ascribed by early history to St. John, and is traced from Britain to Lyons, and thence through Bishop Paulinus, a disciple of Polycarp, the pupil of St. John, to Symrna and Ephesus, the seat of the favored apostle of our Lord.

Let me invite your attention to the historical evidence that St. Paul first planted the church in Britain. From those valuable documents, the Triads, preserved in the Welsh monasteries, it appears that about A. D. 52, Caradoc, a British prince, his son Brennus, and grandson Linus, were carried to Rome, and detained seven years in bondage. While in Rome they became converts to Christianity. At the

end of seven years Brennus returned to Britain with Aristobulus, whose household St. Paul salutes in his Epistle to the Romans,

This account is supported by Gildas, a British historian, A. D. 560, who affirms in the evidence of ancient records, that Christianity was introduced into Britain about the time of the revolt and overthrow of Boadicea, A. D. 61. Linus, the son of Brennus, of Britain, was probably ordained by St. Paul, first bishop of Rome,[1] and appears to have been his convert and particular friend, for he refers to him in his second Epistle to Timothy.[2] Clement, another disciple of St. Paul, and *third bishop of Rome*, commended by that apostle in his Epistle to the Corinthians, A. D. 87, states, that St. Paul, in preaching the Gospel, "went to the utmost bounds of the West," which not only includes Britain, but is the very expression by which Britain was then described. Eusebius, A. D. 305, says, "one of the apostles visited the British isles," and Theodoret, A. D. 415, mentions the Britons and Cimbrians as nations who had received laws from the apostles; and we are not to forget that St. Paul himself proposed to make a visit to Spain, a point still more remote.

Were further confirmation wanting, the old writer Dorotheus mentions the fact that Aristobulus, the friend of St. Paul, was one of the first bishops of the British church, made many converts, ordained priests and deacons and bishops, and died in Britain. Aristobulus being a Greek, would of course carry with him the Eastern ritual, and this may explain the agreement between the Greek and British ritual,

[1] Apos. Cons. VII. 46. [2] 2 Tim. 4: 21.

and the variance from the Roman. We may then safely infer, from the evidence of history, that St. Paul planted the church in Britain between A. D. 60 and A. D. 67, when he was beheaded at Rome, under the Emperor Nero. The Triads further prove that Lucius, a *grandson of Linus*, first bishop of Rome, was permitted by the Romans to reign over part of Britain, and exerted himself to promote Christianity in Britain.[1] The venerable Bede, the favorite author of King Alfred, records a severe persecution (A. D. 303) of the Christians in Britain, and the names of the first martyrs, Verolamus, Aaron, and Julius, the last of Legion, or Cair Leon, in Wales.

Tertullian, A. D. 190, says: "There are places in Britain, inaccessible to the Roman arms, which were subdued to Christ." And Origen, A. D. 230, informs us, "the power of God our Saviour is ever with them of Britain, who are divided from our world."

The records of the great councils held at Arles in Gaul, A. D. 314, are still preserved, and bear the signatures of three British bishops, Eborius of York, Restitutus of London, and Adulfius of Cair Leon in Wales, with Sacerdos, a presbyter, and Arminius, a deacon of the church. In A. D. 448, a synod of bishops, held at Munster in Ireland, questioned the power of St. Patrick as archbishop, but conceded what they denied as a right, to his merits and success as a missionary.

It is thus apparent that Christianity was established in the isles of Britain long before the seventh century, when Austin, the legate of Gregory of Rome, made his first visit to Britain, and reclaimed

[1] See Monos. Angli. Vol. III. p. 188; Hopkins, P. C., 364.

the Saxons, then established in England, for the pope of Rome doubtless claimed them when they emigrated from his diocese, while he conceded the Gauls and their clergy to the Bishop of Arles as their metropolitan.[1]

Austin held his celebrated conference with the bishops of Britain, A. D. 603. At this interview they asserted their entire independence of Rome, "owing nothing to her but charity and brotherly love." No less than seven British bishops attended this conference, and by their mouthpiece Dinoth, whose speech is preserved,[2] informed Austin, "they could not acknowledge him as archbishop, or obey the Roman bishop whom he called pope," for "we are under the government of the bishop of Cair Leon upon Wiske, who, under God, is to oversee us, to cause us to walk in the way of life." They were tenacious of their ancient faith and ritual, and stood firmly by

"Religio patrum multos servata per annos."

Between the visit of Austin, A. D. 603, and the Norman conquest, A. D. 1066, various councils of bishops were held in England, and repeated efforts made to establish the power of the pope, but there was not at any one of them a recognition of his authority, although he was permitted to introduce monks and monasteries. Both the British and Saxon churches remained independent until the invasion of the duke of Normandy, when they were merged in one, entirely independent of papal authority. Under the Norman kings the pope of Rome resumed his efforts

[1] For this see Bede, Ecc. Hist. I. c. 27.

[2] See Smith's Bede, p. 716.

for supremacy in Britain, and sent a legate to that country. William II. made Anselm Archbishop of Canterbury, and he acknowledged the authority of Pope Urban, and for this the whole body of bishops at Rockingham *renounced* their allegiance to Anselm, and after this he was not permitted to convene councils or fill up vacant dioceses.[1]

Henry I. allowed no appeals to the pope without license from the king, and required the bishops to attend the councils of the nation. He maintained his ground against all opposition. Under the degenerate Stephen, papal encroachments were made, but his successor, Henry II., called a council at *Clarendon*, A. D. 1164, composed of archbishops, bishops, abbots, lords, and barons, which enacted sixteen canons that gave a most effectual check to the influence of the pope for several centuries. These canons provided among other things that the clergy should be amenable to the secular power; should not leave the realm without the king's consent, and have no right to appeal to the pope; that the election of bishops should be invalid until confirmed by the king, and that no freeholder should be laid under interdict without the consent of the king or his chief justice. These canons were condemned and revoked by Pope Alexander, but notwithstanding this, were confirmed by kings, lords, and clergy, at a council held at Northampton, A. D. 1176, in the presence of the pope's legate, were long enforced, and for centuries formed the bulwark of the Church of England. During the reign of Richard I., who died A. D. 1199, these canons

[1] See Lingard, the Catholic Historian, Hist. Eng. Vol. II. p. 23.

were strictly observed, but under the pusillanimous John, renewed efforts were made by the pope to subject England to his sway, and that imbecile monarch swore fealty to him, and allowed Peter pence to be collected. His successor, Henry III., acquiesced in silence, but the opposition of the clergy was aroused, they complained to the king, and appealed from the pope to a general council for redress.[1]

The three Edwards, who reigned from the death of Henry III., A. D. 1272 to 1377, held the reins with a firmer hand than the two weak kings who preceded them, and during their reigns the pretensions of the pope were successfully resisted. By a series of statutes the king was empowered to reverse sentences of excommunication, the donation of John to the pope declared invalid, the remittance of funds to Rome strictly prohibited, parties appealing to Rome declared traitors and outlaws, taxes were levied on the clergy, and when Boniface VIII., by his bull, A. D. 1296, forbid the clergy to pay such taxes, and excommunicated those who laid them, the king, by a decree of *outlawry*, sanctioned by the lay peers, enforced submission.[2]

From the death of Edward III., A. D. 1377, until A. D. 1422, under Henry IV. and V., other restrictive statutes were passed, forbidding the sale of indulgences, and prohibiting aliens from holding benefices in England, except priors, who were required to find sureties for their compliance with the laws of the realm, for which see the statutes of England.

[1] See Lingard, III., pp. 32–89.

[2] See Lingard, Stowe, and Hopkins, P. C. p. 378.

From A. D. 1422, these laws continued unrepealed until the accession of Henry VIII., and the reformation under him, a century later; but during the War of the Roses, the country was torn by civil dissensions, laws ceased to be enforced and respected, monarchs had little time to protect the church, old abuses were revived, and the influence of the pope was gradually increased, and probably reached its height under Cardinal Wolsey, himself an aspirant for the papal chair. But you have read of the downfall of Wolsey, and his parting words to Cromwell, immortalized by the bard of Avon, who must have witnessed his fall. He charges Cromwell to "fling away ambition, by that sin fell the angels. Be just and fear not. Let all the ends thou aimest at be thy country's, thy God's, and truth's." And Wolsey, that once trod the ways of glory, and sounded all the depths and shoals of honor, ends his career with —

> "Vain pomp and glory of this world, I hate ye;
> Farewell, a long farewell, to all my greatness."

The struggles of ambition ended with the fall of Wolsey. Henry suppressed the monasteries, reformed the errors of the church, for which reform Wickliffe had paved the way, and sustained alike by the bishops and clergy, nobles, and people enforced the laws of the preceding century, and bid defiance to the thunders of the Vatican, whose bolts fell powerless at the feet of his daughter Elizabeth.

Thus have I shown you how the Church of England, through successive centuries, while Europe generally submitted to Rome, was tenacious of its

rights, on its guard against invasion, asserted and maintained its privileges, and finally secured on a firm basis the purity which it now maintains. Should you urge that its members do not exceed fifteen millions in all quarters of the globe, that they are less than one sixth of the numbers of the Roman church, let me reply, that numbers are not the sole test of truth, that God invited but seven beside Noah to escape the deluge, that Lot fled almost alone from the corrupt cities of the plain; and let us observe also the bow of promise in the future.[1]

Yours, truly and affectionately.

[1] For proof that St. Paul planted the Church in Britain before St. Peter left Asia, see Appendix, p. 274.

LETTER XI.

BOSTON, March 4, 1853.

MY DEAR S. . . :—I am not surprised that you seek to discover the true church, nor do I wonder that you are at the outset, strongly impressed by the confidence with which the Church of Rome still claims to be the only one which has preserved her unity, her catholic and apostolic character. We have already examined the frail foundations which sustain those claims, and it is easy to refute all her arguments, for they have been *refuted;* but she is imposing, even in her decay. She reminds me of one of her own venerable structures, whose base has been undermined by the stream, whose stone has crumbled, whose walls are tottering, whose windows are darkened by ivy, whose roof-tree is broken, so that the birds of night find refuge in her rafters, whose nave and transepts are usurped for the purposes of trade, or are filled with rubbish, while but a small part of her interior, hung with tattered tapestry, remains for the worship of God. Her very ruins are impressive, and imagination yields to her much that reason denies. Let us leave her picture, and recur together to the humble fisherman, on whom she rests her pretensions, and examine more closely his claims to supremacy.

The Roman bishop urges that Peter was superior

to the other apostles; that St. Matthew calls him first; that the evangelists give him the first place; that he was first to confess his faith, the first to see our Saviour after his resurrection, the first to preach on this point to the people, the first to convert the Jews, and the first to receive the heathen.

A part of this may be questioned, upon the testimony of the evangelists; but for the purposes of discussion, concede it to be true, is it not also true that when the mother of James and John desired the highest place for her sons, and the other apostles were moved with indignation, "Jesus called them to him and said, you know that the princes of the Gentiles lord it over them, and they that are the greater exercise power upon them. It shall not be so among you; but whosoever will be the greater among you let him be your minister, and he who would be first among you shall be your servant."[1] Again, our Saviour warning his disciples against the love of rank and power, says, "Be ye not called Rabbi, for one is your master, and all ye are brethren."[2] We read in Luke, also, "He that is least among you shall be the greatest." And again, when "there was a strife among them which of them should be accounted the greatest," our Lord, after saying, "let the leader be as him that serveth," adds,[3] "I appoint to you as my Father has appointed to me, a kingdom, that you may eat and drink at my table in my kingdom, and may sit upon thrones judging the twelve tribes of Israel." Now all these lessons of *humility* and *equality*, were given by our Saviour after

[1] Matt. 20 : 25. [2] Ibid. 23 : 8. [3] Luke 9 : 48. 22 : 29.

the gift of the keys to St. Peter, and after the promise that the church should be built on the rock, to which you refer, when pressing his claim to supremacy. And if Peter was constituted prince of the apostles, and invested with "superior jurisdiction," and "a special dignity," by the figurative words of our Lord, is it consistent therewith that he should afterwards have inculcated such lessons of humility and equality? Would he not have told them, bow with deference to Peter, for after I leave you, he is to be your sovereign pope and judge?

And how can you reconcile this office of *sovereign*, *pope*, and *judge*, confided to St. Peter, with his meek deportment at the council of apostles and ancients, held at Jerusalem, to hear the report of Paul and Barnabas, when James, classed by Eusebius as the first bishop of Jerusalem, pronounces the authoritative decree, "Wherefore I judge that they who from the Gentiles are converted to God, are not to be disquieted," and the apostles and ancients, with the whole church, inclusive of *Peter*, acquiesce and ratify the decree?[1]

Again, if the promise of the keys, and of power to bind and to loose, was given *exclusively* to St. Peter, how do you reconcile the fact, recorded in St. John's gospel, 20: 22, that our Lord after his ascension came to the room where *all* his disciples were assembled, and addressing himself to all alike, said, "Peace be unto you; as the Father hath sent me, I also send you; whose sins you shall forgive, they are forgiven them, and whose you shall retain, they are

[1] See Acts 15: 19. Douay Ed.

retained." Does not this gift include St. Peter and his associates, without distinction or degree? Do they not hold under one and the same commission?

If St. Peter was usually named first, is not the solution easy? He was the first called, and was probably the oldest and most energetic of the disciples. This would account for his prominence on many occasions, but not for the fact to which you also advert, as a proof of his supremacy, that our Lord thrice asked him after his resurrection, "Lovest thou me?" and thrice repeated the charge to him to feed his sheep and lambs. Does not this repetition make against him? We read,[1] that when our Lord said to him the third time, "Simon, son of Jonas, lovest thou me? Peter was grieved." And why did he grieve? Did not these repeated inquiries imply doubt and distrust? Had he not promised, "Lord, I will lay down my life for thy sake?" Had he not said, "Though all men shall be offended because of thee, yet will I not be offended?" Had he not assured our Saviour, "I am ready to go with thee even into prison and to death," and confidently declared, "If I should die with thee I will not deny thee?" Melancholy exemplar of human frailty! Did he not that selfsame night thrice deny his Lord, draw his sword upon an innocent witness, and after deserting and denying his master, begin to curse and to swear, and to confirm his denial by an oath? After all this, might not our Saviour single him out from his fellows, and repeat in a tone of reproof as often as he had denied him, "lovest thou me? then feed my

[1] John 21: 16.

lambs and sheep," without thereby giving him supremacy? And when enthusiasts cite the visit of our Saviour, first made to Peter's ship, and the miraculous draught of fishes, as proofs of superiority, are you not reminded how his heart failed him when he tried to walk upon the waters, and our Lord addressed him, "O thou of little faith, wherefore didst thou doubt?"[1] How is it, again, that you find no proofs of Peter's supremacy in the apostolical canons still extant, which define the positions of bishop, presbyter, and deacon, but do not advert to the supremacy of Peter? On the contrary, the thirty-third canon prescribes a metropolitan for each nation, whom his associates should "esteem as their head, and that they should do nothing of difficulty or great moment, without his opinion. But neither should this primate do any thing without the opinion of all, for thus shall concord continue." The Council of Nice and the Council of Ephesus followed these canons, and decreed that every bishop should acknowledge his metropolitan; but in neither canons or councils is there any allusion to a sovereign prince, or tiara wearing prelate.

If St. Peter was the rock on which alone the church was founded, and he alone held the keys of heaven; if he alone could loose and unloose, allow me to ask, how could St. Paul perform his mission to the heathen for three years, without once conferring with St. Peter, or receiving from him some portion of his gifts? And yet the mission of St. Paul was eminently successful. But how did the ancient fathers, still

[1] Matthew 14: 31.

honored by Rome, construe these passages? Did they give the exposition now claimed by the Roman see? The golden-mouthed St. Chrysostom, translated for his eloquence and learning from the see of Antioch to that of Constantinople, reads it thus: "Christ founded and fortified his church upon his (i. e. Peter's) *confession*, so that no danger, nor even death itself, could overcome it." And commenting on the very words of our Saviour, "And I say unto thee that thou art Peter, and on this rock I will build my church," St. Chrysostom says, "That is upon the *faith* of his *confession*." Is not this express and definite?

The same revered writer says of St. Paul, "There is no one who loved Christ more vehemently than St. Paul, and there was none more acceptable to God than he was, yet after receiving so many privileges from God, he fears and trembles on account of his subjects, on account of this principality, that is, the episcopal office."[1]

What says the celebrated St. Ambrose, first a prince, then the bishop of Milan, whose reputation and influence entirely overshadowed that of his colleague, Damasus of Rome?

Addressing himself to Christians in general, he says, "Believe, therefore, as Peter believed, that you also may be blessed, that you also may hear. Flesh and blood has not revealed it unto thee, but my Father who is in heaven, for *whoever* overcomes the flesh, is a *foundation* of the church. If he cannot equal Peter, he can imitate him." And again, "The

[1] See Chrysostom de Sacerd. Op. Om. Ps. 430, 591, 866.

rock is Christ. Strive, therefore, that thou also mayst be a *rock*, and look for that *rock*, not without thee but *within*. The *rock* is thine *action*, the *rock* is thy *mind*. Upon that *rock* thy *faith* is built, that it may be struck down by no spiritual wickedness. *The rock* is thy *faith;* faith is the *foundation* of the *church*." [1]

What says St. Hilarius, another ancient writer revered by the Catholics. "The apostles," not Peter only, "obtained the keys of heaven." And again, he calls "St. Paul, the master of the nations, the elect master of the church." Do not these expressions negative the title of St. Peter to the supremacy? [2]

Eusebius, the early historian of the church, also calls St. Paul "the holy apostle and truly the first of all," and comes to the conclusion that Paul in fulfilment of prophecy, "ruled first over the churches, and after Paul the other apostles." [3]

The ancient liturgy, which bears the name of Basil, makes no reference to the pope of Rome, but in the

[1] "Si petra fueris in ecclesia eris, quia Ecclesia supra petram est. Si in Ecclesia fueris, portæ inferi non prævalebunt tibi." "Quæ autem portæ mortis, hoc est portæ inferi nisi singula quæque peccata?" - "Si peccatum mortale commiseris portas mortis intrasti, sed potens est Deus qui exaltet te de portis mortis." Again he says, "Tibi inquit dabo Claves regni cœlorum ut et solves et liges. Hoc Novitianus non audivit sed Ecclesia Dei audivit quod *Petro* dicitur *Apostolis* dicitur." Again he says, "Nec *Paulus* inferior Petro." And again, "Fides ergo est ecclesiæ fundamentum non enim de carne Petri sed de fide dictum est quia portæ mortis ei non prævalebunt sed confessio vicit Inferum." S. Ambros. Op. Tom. 2, 711; Tom. 1, 98, 99; Tom. 2, 158.

[2] Hil. de Trin. L. VI. p. 125, 706.

[3] Eusebius, Com. in Psalm 8, 67, 68; Evangel. L. I. c. 3.

prayer for the bishop of Alexandria, styles him "most holy and blessed pontiff, father, pope, and patriarch," and calls his office, holy pontificate.[1]

But that venerable saint, Augustine, "the clearest of witnesses," defines with precision the *rock*, and the *keys*, and the words, *Feed my sheep*, on which the Church of Rome places so much reliance, and it is, I confess, a little remarkable, that this canonized author and bishop, bears such strong testimony against her. In his comments on St. John, he tells us, "The Lord says, upon this rock I will build my church, because Peter[2] had said, Thou art Christ, the son of the living God. Upon *this rock*, therefore, which *thou* hast confessed, will I build my church. For the *rock was Christ*, upon which foundation Peter himself was built. For another foundation can no man lay beside that which has been laid, Christ Jesus. The church, therefore, which is built on Christ, received the keys of the kingdom of heaven in Peter, that is, the power of binding and loosing sins."

Again, "*On behalf of all the saints*, therefore, who belong inseparably to the body of Christ, in order to the proper direction of this most stormy life, *Peter*, the *first* of the apostles, received the keys of the kingdom of heaven for the binding and loosing of sins. And on behalf of all the same saints, in order to the obtaining that most serene bosom of the hidden life, John the evangelist reclined on the breast of Christ. As, therefore, *it is not Peter alone*, but the whole church which binds and looses sins, neither is it John alone who drinks from the fountain of the

[1] Basil, Op. Om. Oratio pro Pap. Tom. II. 675.

[2] Petra signifies a rock.

Lords heart the sublime truths which he puts forth in his preaching, that in the beginning was the word, God with God, and the rest concerning the divinity of Christ, and the trinity and unity of the divine nature, truths to be contemplated face to face in his kingdom, but now until the Lord come, to be beheld in a glass and in mystery, but the Lord himself diffuses this gospel, to be drank by all his saints, each according to his capacity, throughout the whole world."

In his discourse upon the anniversary of St. Peter and St. Paul, we read as follows: "Feed my sheep. I commit my sheep to thee. What sheep? Those I have bought with my blood. I have died for them. Dost thou love me, die then for them. And truly as that servant who was the man of men, should give money for the sheep that were lost, Peter gave his blood for the sheep that were saved. But come, brethren, he continues, I wish to say something for the present time. *That which was committed to Peter*, that which he was commanded to do, *not Peter only, but likewise all the apostles heard, held, and kept, and chiefly that companion of his martyrdom, and of his natal day, the Apostle Paul.* They heard these things, and transmitted them to us, that we might hear them. We feed, therefore, and are fed with you. May God give us strength in such wise to love you, that we also may be enabled to die for you, either in reality or affection."

With such concurrence in the exposition of the language of our Saviour as to the rock, the keys, and the trust committed therewith to his apostles, made in the early days of the primitive Catholic

church, by her purest saints and ablest commentators, can we be at a loss for their true meaning? Do not they concur that all shared in the trust, and that no supremacy was given to St. Peter?

Yours, truly and affectionately.

LETTER XII.

Boston, March 6, 1853.

My dear S. . . : — I resume the topic of the supremacy of the pope, discussed in my last letter, in which I cited the golden-mouthed Chrysostom, and the blessed Ambrose and Augustine, canonized saints of Rome, to prove that her popes have no supremacy.

It is easy to cite from the saints and early popes of Rome, other passages to disprove their claims. You will find in Barrow's[1] unanswerable treatise, an array of such authorities, and I might well argue from them the supremacy of St. Paul, St. James, and St. John over their more illiterate associate. St. Chrysostom[2] tells us the "Apostolic power was the greatest and highest in the church. There was none before an apostle, none superior, none equal." He demonstrates this superiority by St. Paul himself, who, in his enumeration of the chief officers placed by God in the church, assigned the highest rank to apostles. "Our Lord,"[3] says St. Paul, "gave some apostles, some prophets, some evangelists, some pas-

[1] See works of Barrow, Vol. VII. p. 156, from which I make several extracts.

[2] Chrysostom, Tom. VIII. p. 114.

[3] Ephesians 4: 11.

tors and teachers." Again, St. Paul says,[1] "God has set in his church *first*, apostles; secondly, prophets; thirdly, teachers." Why does he not name as first a pope, a vicar of Christ, a head of the Catholic church? Could he be so ignorant, so negligent, or envious, as to pass by, without any distinction, the *supreme* officer, if such a one there was? Let us assume that one should undertake to name the officers in any State or Republic, "would he not," says Barrow, "do strangely if he should omit the king, the duke, the consul?" And might not St. Chrysostom safely infer, as he has done from the omission of any higher rank, "that there was nothing in the Christian state superior to the apostolic office?" And what does St. Chrysostom say of the Apostle Paul? He styles him,[2] "the tongue, the teacher, the apostle of the world;" he was the light of the churches;[2] "the foundation of faith, the pillar and ground of truth."[2] "He had the patronage of the world committed into his hands."[2] "None was greater than he, none equal to him."[2]

Pope Gregory I. says of St. Paul, that he was made head of the nations, because he obtained the principate of the whole church.[2]

How can these descriptions be reconciled with the supremacy of St. Peter?

But St. Chrysostom distinguishes another apostle, also, for he says that St. John "was a pillar of the churches through the world, and one that had the keys of heaven."[2] How can we reconcile this with the

[1] 1 Corinthians 12: 28.

[2] See Barrow, 7, p. 156, 157, for passages in original Greek from St. Chrysostom, and reference to book and page.

peculiar claim of St. Peter to the keys of heaven? And what account does St. Chrysostom give of the first bishop ordained after the death of our Saviour? He says, "Tradition tells us that our Lord appeared to James, and ordained him the first bishop of Jerusalem." "James," says the historian Epiphanius, "first received the episcopal chair, and to him our Lord intrusted his own throne upon earth."[1]

Hence, in the apostolic constitutions, in the prayer presented for the church, and for all the governors of it, the bishops of the principal churches are specified by name, and St. James is put in the first place, before the bishops of Rome and Antioch. "Let us pray for the whole episcopacy under heaven of those who rightly dispense the word of thy truth, and let us pray for our bishop James, with all his parishes; let us pray for our bishop, Clement, with all his parishes; let us pray for Evodius, and all his parishes."[2] Thus may we account for the terms bishop of bishops, and bishop of the apostles, under which some of these ancient writers describe St. James.

Where, then, was the supremacy of St. Peter?

We should remember also that St. John the apostle survived St. Peter, and lived until the time of Trajan, at least thirty years after the death of St. Paul. He enjoyed the reverence of all the churches, and it may well be asked, Did he, for more than thirty years, resign his supremacy in the church to the early bishops of Rome, the humble disciples of St.

[1] Epiph. Hær. 78. [2] Const. Ap. VIII. 10.

Paul and St. Peter, and acknowledge the supremacy or even primacy of a bishop over an apostle?

Let us assume for the moment that the primacy of St. Peter over the primitive church and its bishops and apostles is established by other Catholic evidence, by what rule of law or title does that personal privilege descend to his successors in the see at Rome?

I cannot find a particle of evidence to prove its transmission or descent to such successors. By the canon law, "a personal privilege follows the person, and is extinguished with the person,"[1] and such was the privilege or primacy, if any, of St. Peter. All the pretence of primacy granted to St. Peter is based, says Barrow,[2] upon "words addressed to his person, characterized by his personal adjuncts, as name and parentage, which were accomplished in his personal actings, and which it is unreasonable to extend further."

"These things being in a conspicuous manner accomplished in St. Peter's person, the sense of these words is exhausted, and whatever more is inferred must be by precarious assumption."

You, however, ascribe to the popes the primacy, and adduce as an argument for their supremacy, the fact that St. Ignatius addresses his epistles to the church which presides in the country of the Romans. Concede the fact. Does this prove supremacy? Was not the Church of Rome, metropolitan, and did not the Church of Ephesus preside in the country of the Ephesians, the Church of Alexandria in Egypt, and

[1] Reg. Juris. 7 in Sexto. [2] Barrow 7, 160.

the Church of Jerusalem in Judea? Neither of these facts would prove the pope of Rome a sovereign.

You urge that, "dissensions occurring in the Church of Corinth, the case was referred to the Church of Rome, in the time of Irenæus." Such a reference would prove no supremacy; but by investigating the case I find the Church of Corinth deposed its bishop without due cause, and Clement, a friend and probably a convert of St. Paul, who was the third bishop of Rome, A. D. 91 to A. D. 100, wrote in the name of "the church which worships at Rome," a friendly letter, expostulating with the Church of Corinth. This letter is still extant. It is couched in the most cautious phrase, and concludes with expressing the *opinion*, that "it is sinful and unjust to depose a bishop duly appointed, a bishop who has for many years humbly, quietly, liberally, and with good repute, fulfilled the ministry." "For it will not be accounted a light sin if those who offer gifts without strife and with holiness, should be removed from their episcopate." The letter *asserts no claim to power or jurisdiction*, but addresses itself to the reason and conscience of the Corinthians, and concludes with a beautiful petition for Divine assistance.

What a contrast is the bishop or pope here pictured by Clement, a disciple of St. Paul, and one of the first popes of Rome, to the popes who succeeded him, and gradually usurped the power of sovereigns and the honors of the Deity! He pictures a bishop as distinguished among men for his *humility*, *benevolence*, *meek* and *gentle spirit*, his *aversion* to *strife*, and his *purity of life*, as selected for these virtues

by the apostles or other approved ministers of Christ. How few of his successors can aspire to such a character!

Then you cite Irenæus as urging that the Church of Rome is the greatest, most ancient, and universally known, as having been founded by St. Peter and St. Paul, to which every church is bound to conform, by reason of its superior authority. Although the Church of Rome is not so ancient as the Churches of Jerusalem, Sardis, Ephesus, and Antioch, Irenæus was right in saying that it was universally known, and superior in renown. He is good authority, for he was educated and probably ordained at Smyrna, by Polycarp, the disciple of St. John; but you do not quote him correctly. He is endeavoring to refute the strange traditions of the Gnostics, by the doctrines taught in the churches which can trace their succession to the apostles, and in the course of his letter, to sustain his argument, he cites the church of Smyrna and other churches in Asia. He cites Rome as a standard authority, because her bishop is twelfth in descent from the apostles, and traces his succession through several bishops, namely, Linus and Clement who knew the apostles, up to those very apostles, and not to St. Peter alone. For he expressly says: "The blessed apostles, therefore, founding and establishing this church, delivered to Linus the episcopal right of governing it," of which Linus,[1] Paul makes mention in his Epistle to Timothy. He then concludes: "Ad hanc enim Ecclesiam propter potiorem principalitatem necesse est omnem convenire Ecclesiam, hoc est eos qui sunt undique

fideles in quâ semper ab his qui sunt undique conservata est ea quæ est ab Apostolis traditio." *Convenire*, the word in question, cannot, in this connection, mean to *conform* or *agree*, for *convenire*, when it refers to place, is followed by an *accusative*, and when it means agree, it takes the dative. I submit to you, as a Latin scholar, that the true translation is as follows: "For to this church, as being more metropolitan in its character, it must of necessity be that every church should *resort*, that is, those who are faithful, from all places round about it. For in this church the apostolic tradition has always been preserved by those about it." This conveys a very different idea, and no doubt the true view of Irenæus, as you will see by his other writings, and surely the Church of Rome cannot maintain its supremacy upon the basis of bad Latin.

Irenæus writes another letter from Lyons to Victor, thirteenth bishop of Rome, expostulating with him for not keeping Easter on the same day with the eastern churches, and for threatening not to commune with them. *This letter is more energetic than the letter of Clement to Corinth*, and in it he refers to Polycarp, who was taught by the apostles, and appointed by them bishop of Smyrna, where he lived to a great age and made a glorious martyrdom, which Irenæus witnessed in his youth. He then describes a visit of Polycarp to Rome, in the time of Anicetus, the tenth bishop, who held the see from A. D. 141 to A. D. 155. He proceeds as follows: "When the most blessed Polycarp came to Rome in the time of Anicetus, and there was a little controversy between them

about other things, they embraced each other presently with the kiss of peace, not greatly contending about this question (i. e. the day of keeping Easter), for neither could Anicetus ever persuade Polycarp to cease this thing, because he had lived familiarly with John, the disciple of our Lord, and with the other apostles, and observed their custom continually. Nor, on the other hand, could Polycarp persuade Anicetus to observe it, since Anicetus said that he retained the custom of those elders that were before him. When matters were thus situate they communed together, and Anicetus yielded to Polycarp, as a token of respect, the office of consecrating the offering in the church, and at length they departed from each other in peace, as well those who observed this custom as those who observed it not, keeping the peace of the whole church."[1] Does not this confirm the translation of the cited passage? If it was necessary from the supremacy of the Roman bishop for all other bishops to conform, how is it that Polycarp, declining to conform, instead of a censure or an *interdict*, receives a *kiss of peace*, and is allowed to consecrate the offering? Why did not the pope of Rome then cite St. Peter instead of the elders? and where then slept the thunder of the Vatican? One could argue from the letter of Irenæus to Victor that the bishop of Lyons was superior to the bishop of Rome, quite as strongly as he could argue from the letter of Clement the superiority of that bishop over the bishop of Corinth.

But you cite one more authority, the most blessed

[1] See Iren. Con. L. III. c. 1; Eusebius, L. V. c. 24.

Jerome. What if even St. Jerome, the secretary of the ambitious Damasus, should prove adverse to the pretensions of the Roman pontiff?

The passage in question is an extract from the letter of St. Jerome to Pope Damasus, about A. D. 375. St. Jerome had been a presbyter at Rome under Damasus, and his *private secretary;* he had written the *Latin Vulgate;* but weary of the pomp, magnificence, and vices of the imperial city, had retired to the district of Syria, and become a recluse at Bethlehem, where he was disturbed by the Arians, then in the ascendant. Desirous to return to Rome, he addresses Damasus as follows:—

"Since the East, dashed together by the old madness of the people, tears piecemeal the seamless tunic and coat of the Lord, and the foxes destroy the vine of Christ, as among reservoirs worn out, which hold no water, and it is difficult to understand where the fountain sealed, the garden inclosed, may be found, therefore I have thought it best for me to consult the chair of St. Peter and the faith praised by the apostles' mouth; asking at this time food for my soul from the same quarter where formerly I received the garments of Christ. For the vast extent of water and of land which lies between us, cannot keep me from seeking the pearl of great price. 'Wheresoever the body is, there are the eagles gathered together.' The prodigal son, having wasted his patrimony, the heritage of the fathers is kept safely amongst you alone. There the ground of the Lord, with its prolific soil, declares its purity by the return of an hundred-fold; here the grain, drowned in the furrows,

degenerates into tares and straw. Now the Sun of Righteousness rises in the West; but in the East, that Lucifer who had fallen has placed his throne above the stars. You are the light of the world, you are the salt of the earth, you are vessels of gold and silver; here the vessels of earth and wood are shut up for the rod of iron and eternal fire. Notwithstanding, therefore, your greatness deters, yet your kindness invites me. With earnestness I ask a victim of salvation from the priest, the defence which the sheep requires from the shepherd. Let envy depart; let the ambition of the Roman chief be banished; I speak with the successor of the fisherman and a disciple of the cross. I, who follow no primate except Christ, am united in communion to your blessedness, that is, to the chair of Peter: *on that rock* I know that *the church is built.* Whoever eats the lamb out of that house is profane. If any one was not in the ark of Noah, he must perish in the flood. And because, for my sins, I have dwelt in this wilderness which lies on the boundary between Barbary and Syria, and could not always seek the holy counsels of the Lord from your holiness, through so great an intervening distance, therefore I follow hither your colleagues, the confessors of Egypt, and among the largest vessels, I lie hid in a little boat. I know nothing of Vitalis, of Melitius, of Paulinus. Whoever does not gather with thee, scatters: that is, whoever is not of Christ, is of Antichrist. For now — O shame — after the Nicene faith, after the Alexandrine decree, the West also concurring, the new phrase of three *hypostases* is exacted of me, a Roman, by the Campenses, and the chief of the Arians.

What apostles, I pray, have disclosed these words? What new Paul, the master of the nations, has taught this doctrine?"

This would seem to be a confidential letter from a recluse to his former bishop and protector, bitterly condemning the heresies and oppression of the Arians, and expressing his preference for the faith still kept at Rome. He doubtless courted an invitation to return —but is such a letter a sufficient basis for the supremacy of Rome? I have already cited a passage from his works, in which he declares all bishops are equal, and here he speaks of the Egyptian confessors or bishops as *colleagues* of Damasus, and colleague does not imply supremacy.

Does he mean to say that the church is founded on Rome, or the chair of St. Peter? The learned Erasmus thinks otherwise, for he says, in his comments, "Not upon Rome, for Rome might degenerate, but upon that *faith* which Peter professed, and which to that time the Church of Rome had preserved."

St. Jerome, in his Epistle to Titus, says: "It belongs to the apostolic dignity to lay the foundation of the church, which no one should lay except the architect; but there is no other foundation except Jesus Christ; where *that foundation* is laid, inferior workmen may carry on the buildings."

Upon the words, "I will give to thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven," he says: "Bishops and presbyters, not understanding this passage, assume to themselves something of the superciliousness of the Pharisees, thinking they can condemn the innocent and absolve the guilty, when before God it is not the sentence of the priest, but the life of the accused that

is required. And again, so should bishops know, that they are superior to the presbyters more by custom than by the truth of our Lord's disposition."[1]

Inasmuch as St. Jerome admits that all bishops are of the same excellence, and of the same episcopate, whether of Rome or Tunis, since he urges that their power but little, if any, exceeds that of the presbyter, and rests more on usage than divine authority; since he admits that the keys were conferred alike on all the apostles, and carry but a moderate power; since he concedes that Christ, rather than Peter, is the foundation of the church; his contrast of the Nicene faith of Rome, his own early faith, with the heresy of the Arians, is no proof of the supremacy of Rome.

I have now answered all the authorities you advance by passages from Scripture, from Catholic saints, or deductions therefrom. Let me conclude by citing one passage from an eminent pagan writer, a contemporary of Damasus, for it gives some idea of the imperial city, still a place of great resort, splendor, and opulence, and of the gradual corruption of her bishops. Rome, according to Gibbon, was still twenty-one miles in circuit, contained forty-eight thousand buildings, and more than a million people; many of its structures were seventy feet high, of marble, with gilded portals. Julian, the last pagan emperor, had died but three years previous; the rites of paganism were still celebrated, and the statues of the gods still filled the forum, senate, and temples, while the Christians worshipped in humble churches.

[1] See Hieron. Com. in Matth., et Epis. ad Titum.

The passage I cite will throw also some light on the conduct and power of Damasus, and the motives which influenced his dependent, St. Jerome, when writing the letter in question. The historian Ammianus, in describing the elevation of Damasus to the bishopric of Rome, A. D. 366, observes: —

"The præfecture of Juventius was accompanied with peace and plenty: but the tranquillity of his government was soon disturbed by a bloody sedition of the distracted people. The ardor of Damasus and Ursinus to seize the episcopal seat, surpassed the ordinary measure of human ambition. They contended with the rage of party; the quarrel was maintained by the wounds and death of their followers; and the præfect, unable to resist or to appease the tumult, was constrained, by superior violence, to retire into the suburbs. Damasus prevailed; the well disputed victory remained on the side of his faction; one hundred and thirty-seven dead bodies[1] were found in the Basilica of Sicininus, where the Christians hold their religious assemblies; and it was long before the angry minds of the people resumed their accustomed tranquillity. When I consider the

[1] Jerome himself is forced to allow "erudelissimæ interfectiones diversi sexus perpetratæ." * But an original libel or petition of two presbyters of the adverse party has unaccountably escaped. They affirm that the doors of the Basilica were burnt, and that the roof was untiled; that Damasus marched at the head of his own clergy, grave-diggers, charioteers, and hired gladiators; that none of his party were killed, but that one hundred and sixty dead bodies were found. This petition is published by P. Sirmind, in the first volume of his works.

* In Chron. p. 186.

splendor of the capital, I am not astonished that so valuable a prize should inflame the desires of ambitious men, and produce the fiercest and most obstinate contests. The successful candidate is secure that he will be enriched by the offerings of matrons;[1] that as soon as his dress is composed with becoming care and elegance, he may proceed in his chariot through the streets of Rome;[2] and that the sumptuousness of the imperial table will not equal the profuse and delicate entertainments provided by the taste, and at the expense of the Roman pontiffs."

"How mŭch more rationally" (continues the honest pagan) "would those pontiffs consult their true happiness, if, instead of alleging the greatness of the city as an excuse for their manners, they would imitate the exemplary life of some provincial bishops, whose temperance and sobriety, whose mean apparel and downcast looks, recommended their pure and modest virtue to the Deity, and his true worshippers." "The schism of Damasus and Ursinus," remarks Gibbon, "was extinguished by the exile of the latter; and the wisdom of the præfect, Prætextatus, restored the tranquillity of the city. Prætextatus was a philosophic pagan, a man of learning, of taste, and politeness; who disguised a reproach in the form

[1] The enemies of Damasus styled him *Auriscalpius Matronarum*, — the ladies' ear-scratcher.

[2] Gregory Nazianzen* describes the pride and luxury of the prelates who reigned in the imperial cities; their gilt car, fiery steeds, numerous train, etc. The crowd gave way as to a wild beast.

* Orat. XXXII. p. 526.

of a jest, when he assured Damasus, that if he could obtain the bishopric of Rome, he himself would immediately embrace the Christian religion. This lively picture of the wealth and luxury of the popes in the fourth century, becomes the more curious, as it represents the intermediate degree between the humble poverty of the apostolic fisherman, and the royal state of a temporal prince, whose dominions extend from the confines of Naples to the banks of the Po."

What a picture is this of the meekness, purity, and temperance of the Roman bishops in the fourth century; and does it look like supremacy when provincial bishops, such as Basil and Athanasius, contemporaries of St. Ambrose, St. Chrysostom, and St. Augustine, are held up to the fierce and luxurious Damasus as examples to be copied?

Yours, truly and affectionately.

LETTER XIII.

Boston, March 7, 1853.

Dear S...:— In my last letter we discussed the epistle of St. Jerome, from his retreat in Syria, to Damasus, the aspiring bishop of Rome. St. Jerome had officiated at Rome as the priest and secretary of Damasus, and devoted to the faith of Rome, as established by the councils of Nice; but impressed with the vices of the imperial city, he had fled to Bethlehem, the birthplace of our Saviour. Valens, the associate of Valentinian, was emperor of the East, and on the death of St. Athanasius, A. D. 373, had established Arian bishops in Egypt and other eastern provinces. St. Jerome, in his affliction, writes to his patron, giving a vivid picture of his sorrows. He paints the defection of the East, and assures him that while he asks succor of his colleague, the bishop of Egypt, he still clings to the Nicene creed, to the true faith still cherished in the West; that he is in communion still with Rome, and cannot eat the paschal lamb out of one house, or commune with Arians; that he still holds to the chair of Peter, to the rock on which the church is founded.

He assures his bishop, that although abashed by his splendor, he presumes on his kindness. He bids him fling away ambition, virtually to forget for awhile the pomp and vanity of this wicked world,

and remember he is a successor of the fisherman, and a disciple of the cross. He implores him to defend and succor a sheep who has wandered from his fold. I have shown the relations of the parties which elucidate this epistle. I have proved by his own letters, that the blessed Jerome esteems all bishops of equal dignity, of human, not divine appointment; that Christ is the only rock on which the church is founded, and that the keys were conferred on all his disciples. As respects the chair of St. Peter, St. Ambrose will put you at ease on that point, for he well remarks, "It is not the chair which makes the bishop, but the bishop the chair; nor is it the place that hallows the man, but it is the man that hallows the place." And St. Jerome himself uses the strong expression, "Those are not always the children of holy men, who occupy the places of the holy."

While the letter to Damasus fails entirely to sustain the pretensions of Rome, it opens a mine of wealth to those who question such pretensions, for it directs us to the actual condition of the Church of Rome at this epoch in its history.

The successor of the fishermen and disciple of the cross, had not yet assumed the triple crown, or become ruler of the world. His office was now in the transition state. His aspirations were just beginning. The sumptuous table, the gilded chariot, the insignia of office, the devotion and gifts of the rich and beautiful, the vain pomp and glory of the world, had made that office a prize to be won. In place of apostolic toil and martyrdom, luxury and splendor were incentives to the aspiring. The fire of

worldly ambition was kindled, and the pontiff rose to power, not by an humble and liberal spirit, not by eloquence and holiness, but fought his way to the chair at the head of an armed faction, regardless of bloodshed and sacrilege. Well might St. Jerome deprecate ambition, and recur to the humble fishermen of Galilee, and the cross of our Saviour. Well might he urge Marcella to remove from Rome to Bethlehem, and say, "This is a far holier place than the Tarpeian rock which the frequent stroke of the thunderbolt would prove to have displeased our Lord." Well might he fly from the golden portals, splendid palaces, and corruption of the metropolis, to the deserts of Syria, for the pontiff and his clergy had alike yielded to the vanities of the world. Within four years after the doors of the chief church at Rome were burned, the roof untiled, and an hundred and sixty human beings slain by the army of clergy, sextons, charioteers, and hired gladiators, who raised Damasus to the chair of St. Peter, Valentinian, the new emperor of the West, was obliged to interpose. He found the abuses of the Church of Rome endangered the empire, and were tending to subvert the State, and, A. D. 370, he issued his edict addressed to Damasus, which has become a precedent for modern statutes of mortmain, and we may infer from its language, the nature and extent of the evils from which it sprung, and our inference is confirmed by the unwilling testimony of St. Jerome himself.

This edict was publicly read in all the churches of Rome. It admonished the clergy not to frequent the houses of widows and virgins, and menaced their disobedience with the intervention of the civil judge.

It forbade the clergy and their bishop to receive any gifts, legacy, or devise from females, and in case any should be made, the donation was confiscated by the State.

St. Jerome admits the licentious conduct of the clergy, concedes that they gradually wasted the fortunes of the Roman ladies, and drove a gainful trade in gifts and legacies. Both St. Jerome and St. Ambrose express their sorrow that such intervention was necessary. They mourn for the sad necessity from which it arose. The former writes, "He blushes to say this law prohibits clergy and monks alone from inheriting what may still be bestowed on players, coachmen, prostitutes, and pagan priests. That this prohibition is imposed, not by pagans, but by Christian emperors, and grieves not for the law, but because it was demanded by the vices of the clergy."[1]

It was not until the Church of Rome had been purified and reformed by the edict of Valentinian, that his successor, Theodosius, was willing to place Damasus on a footing with Peter, bishop of Alexandria, when he issued his decree to put down paganism, and establish a uniform religion throughout his empire. Even then, instead of resorting to the blood-stained and luxurious prelate of Rome to overthrow the statues of the gods in the forum, temple, senate-house, and capitol, he invokes the aid of a more humble, but more virtuous provincial, the venerable Ambrose of Milan, called by the public voice from a temporal to a spiritual dominion, who re-

[1] Tom. I. p. 13.

signed a throne for the chair of a bishop, who coveted a heavenly, not an earthly diadem; who had dared to withstand even Theodosius in his plenitude of power, when he approached the altar with blood-stained hands.

His purity of life, his apostolic faith and courage, his sanctity and devotion, vanquished the gods of Rome, who had for three centuries withstood the Christian faith, subverted their statues, and the deep-seated reverence of the people for their ancient mythology.

It is only to be regretted, that some of the errors already beginning to overspread the church, cast a few of their shadows over such virtuous men and devout Christians as Ambrose and Chrysostom, while they rest in portentous darkness on the character of the sacrilegious Damasus. But I will not enlarge further upon this topic. There is obviously little of the saint or the apostle in the composition of St. Damasus, and there is nothing in the adulation or prayer of his humble dependent, St. Jerome, or in his other writings, which can establish either the sanctity or supremacy of this pontiff at the close of the fourth century.

Follow, if you please, the pages of history from this period for centuries onward, and you will find the emperors presiding over divided councils, the influence of the bishops of Antioch, Alexandria, Rome, and Constantinople, alternately predominating, and various sects springing up to divide the church.

Among the more prominent of these were the Nestorian Christians. Their religion, under Theo-

dosius, was the court religion, and now become most widely diffused. Nestorius removed from Antioch to Constantinople early in the fifth century. He differed from others on the incarnation and the adoration of the Virgin Mary, then recently introduced. Nestorius proposed views which many consider truthful. He was opposed to images and other departures from the early worship. His faith, approved by an emperor, struck deep root and gained numerous supporters.

The church divided. Eventually the emperor changed his faith, and Nestorius was banished from the capital. But his disciples following the footsteps of St. Thomas, the apostle, bore his faith across Assyria, Persia, Media, India, and the wastes of Tartary to China.

They founded numerous churches and bishoprics, and in the time of the Caliphs, claimed to be more numerous than either the Eastern or Western churches. Calling themselves the true church, they designated their opponents as regulists, idolaters, and heretics.

When Portugal sent her first ships and Jesuits to India, she found these Christians established on the Gulf of Persia and the coast of Malabar, but they held the Roman Catholics to be idolaters, and would neither commune with them or recognize their pope.

The Jacobites, Malachites, and Armenians, also swerved from the church, and some of these denominations still exist in Ethiopia and Abyssinia, independent of Rome. At length, A. D. 728, Rome herself, after conforming her faith more than once to the Eastern emperors, and to a succession of councils,

varying in their decrees as to the incarnation and the respect to be paid to images, seceded from the Eastern Empire and churches, and sought the powerful protection of Charlemagne, leaving to their fate the greater part of the inhabitants of Christendom.

Yours, truly and affectionately.

LETTER XIV.

Boston, March 9, 1853.

My dear S. . . : — While closing my last letter on the subject of St. Jerome's epistle to Damasus, and the secession of the Church of Rome, I received the January number of the Edinburgh Review, a periodical marked by candor and learning, and which I now send to your address. You will notice in it a review of no less than four modern histories of the travels and exploits of St. Paul, tracing him from the Greek school of Tarsus, which gave tutors to Augustus and Tiberius Cæsar, his contemporaries, and surpassed in reputation the most distinguished schools of Greece, Egypt, and Italy. It follows him to the feet of Gamaliel, and to his studies among the leading Pharisees of Jerusalem.

The article before me points out the great requisites he united for the conversion of the world, his knowledge of the religion, literature, and language both of the Greeks and Hebrews, his talents as an orator, his high privileges as a Roman citizen.

This article on Saul of Tarsus gives expression to my own views and feelings. Let me ask for it your candid and careful consideration. Observe how he stands forth from the canvas, in contrast with the less active and efficient St. Peter.

The same review contains another article of deep interest. It is upon a treatise by the Chevalier Bunsen, for twelve years minister of his country at Rome, and for twenty in London, in which he pays a high tribute to the faith and liturgy of the Episcopal church, and identifies a most important manuscript, just discovered by an agent of France in a Greek monastery. He proves it to be the work of St. Hippolytus, a pupil of Irenæus, the disciple of Polycarp, ordained by the Apostle St. John. St. Hippolytus was an assistant bishop of Rome from A. D. 199 to A. D. 222, and canonized for his holiness and his treatise against all the heresies. This work is now recovered. He was stationed at the new port, constructed by Trajan, near the mouth of the Tiber. His statue in marble, representing him in a bishop's chair, found three centuries since in the cemetery where he was buried, now adorns the Vatican library, and his treatise is identified by comparison with various extracts in other authors and its own internal evidence.

The book is important, as it gives us some very curious facts respecting the character and history of two of the early popes of Rome.

You may remember the position advanced by a Roman bishop, that there were no heresies before Luther. But, strange confutation! This very work is a specific answer to thirty-two heresies, one of which originated with Nicholas, a deacon of the apostles; and St. Hippolytus tells us that his work on heresies is a synopsis of the lectures of Irenæus, bishop of Lyons, whose letter you have quoted.

So far was St. Hippolytus at this early period from

considering the church of Rome the supreme Catholic church, which had a right to issue its decrees to all the world, that he puts it in distinct opposition to the *catholic* church.

At this time, singular as it may appear to a champion of Rome, there was no Vulgate, and St. Hippolytus performed the services of his church and delivered his sermons in the Greek language, not because it was held to be a sacred tongue, but because it was the language of the commercial world.

It appears also, by his work, that the "clergy were not then looked upon in the light of sacrificial or mediatorial priests, in the sense of the late Roman pretensions, after the introduction of the sacrifice of the Mass, nor were they bound by a vow of celibacy."

St. Hippolytus also recognizes in the clearest and strongest manner the authority of the Holy Scriptures, and the duty of all to make them their study and their guide. He says: "There is one God, my brethren, and him we know only by the Holy Scriptures. For in like manner as he who wishes to learn the wisdom of this world cannot accomplish it without studying the doctrine of the philosophers; thus all those who wish to practise divine wisdom will not learn from any other source than from the word of God. Let us, therefore, see what the Holy Scriptures pronounce; let us understand what they teach, and let us believe as the Father wishes to be believed, and praise the Son as he wishes to be praised, and accept the Holy Spirit as he wishes to be given, not according to our own will, nor according to our own reason, nor forcing what God has given, but let us

see all this as he has willed to show it by the Holy Scriptures."

The chevalier ascribes to St. Hippolytus the collection in the East of the apostolic canons, and presents them in his treatise, a most important evidence against the pretensions of Rome. Let me conclude this letter with a sketch from St. Hippolytus of two of the early popes, Zephyrinus and Callistus, A. D. 199 to A. D. 222, and you shall judge how much they exhibited of the virtues of St. Peter. Callistus, the fifteenth bishop of Rome, was a Christian slave. His master allowed him to keep a bank, or exchange office, in which many widows and brethren made deposits. But Callistus was a rogue, and made away with the sums intrusted to him, and when the fraud could no longer be concealed, he ran away and concealed himself in a ship about to leave the port. Being discovered, he was returned to his master, and subjected to the pistrinum or domestic treadmill. Subsequently he broke into a Jewish synagogue, and disturbed the Jews at their devotions. For this, being brought before the prætor, he was scourged, and then exiled to the unhealthy part of Sardinia. After some years' detention there, he procured a release by artifice, and returned to Rome. Here he attached himself to Zephyrinus, a covetous old man, who was soon after made the fourteenth bishop of Rome. Having obtained an ascendency over the bishop, who was ignorant as well as covetous, and received bribes, Callistus was employed to manage his clergy, and upon the death of Zephyrinus was himself elected to the office of bishop of Rome, an office he had long coveted.

His doctrines correspond with his history. He held, to screen himself, that no bishop could be deposed for any sin, be it even a sin unto death. He defended the heresies of Noetus, and claimed the power to absolve the guilty. This is the brief history of St. Callistus. Do not imagine this picture is overdrawn; it is not portrayed by a modern reformer; it is but a miniature sketch by the blessed Hippolytus. The recording angel, who must have blushed for the sins and failings of his superiors as he wrote them down for posterity, and whose writings seem subsequently to have been banished from Rome, was the assistant bishop of a suburb of Rome, a saint of the Romish calendar. Do you not detect, in the avarice, corruption, and fraud of such unworthy bishops, the early development of that craft and avarice which, under Damasus, expanded into ambition, pomp, and display, and under the wing of Charlemagne and his illiterate successors ripened into temporal and spiritual dominion, and the most unbounded, as well as unfounded, pretensions?

Yours, truly and affectionately.

LETTER XV.

BOSTON, March 20, 1853.

DEAR S...: — Since I last wrote you on the subject of religion, I have been deeply engaged in important suits, and made beside a winter journey of four hundred miles. I have, however, by availing myself of the fragments of time, been able to read the treatise of Faber, entitled The Difficulties of Romanism, the four volumes of Bunsen's Hippolytus, fresh from the London press, and Milner's End of Controversy, to which you drew my attention. I have been delighted with the work of Faber.

It is elevated in its tone, candid, and logical. It deals fairly with the French bishop, to whose treatise it replies. The Chevalier Bunsen also gives us a work almost invaluable, for it presents a picture of the Church of Rome at the close of the second century, one hundred years only after the death of St. John, a period respecting which there is almost a blank in history. He has published also the early canons of the church, revised and corrected by the collation of the earliest Greek, Syriac, and Coptic manuscripts. The position of the Chevalier entitles him to the highest confidence. He is not a proselyting priest, but a gentleman of high attainments, and

for many years the resident minister of the court of Prussia at Rome and London.

He presents an array of facts and arguments adverse to the claims of Rome in a calm and dignified manner, and I have no doubt his work, so opportune, will make a great sensation in the world of letters. I have read also the work of Milner, which falls greatly below the others in candor and philosophy. If it has never been answered, (which permit me to doubt,) it easily may be, for no one familiar with the subject can be at a loss for answers. Perhaps no scholar has thought it worthy of notice, for it is not addressed to the philosopher, but to the illiterate, and is neither truthful in its facts nor logical in its conclusions. I am at a loss to determine whether it errs from ignorance or design, whether it is written by one who is not conversant with truth, or by one who adopts the Jesuits' maxim, "that the end sanctions the means."

The impression that it has left upon my mind is, that the writer had more of the craft of the serpent than the innocence of the dove, for the work is specious in its character, bold in its assumptions, and studious to suppress whatever makes against its pretensions. It is also particularly adroit in presenting the foes of Rome as avaricious monarchs, licentious priests, or members of other denominations, whom it arms with arguments alike frivolous and absurd. I can conceive that such a book might bewilder a youth; but permit me to hope that when he has advanced to some knowledge of history, some acquaintance with logic, and attained to a glimmering of theology, he will feel surprised that a work so *shal-*

low, ever made the least impression on his brain. I have not time to follow the writer through all his windings, but layman as I am, I pledge myself in a few brief intervals of leisure, to show him up as one unworthy of confidence. I must again enter the arena, and I feel in my descent from a converse with Bunsen and Faber to the discussion of Milner, as if I were going down from the high courts of judicature, hallowed by Wirt, Story, and Webster, to the altercations of the petty sessions. You have summoned me to an impure atmosphere, to encounter a less noble adversary, and I will sacrifice pleasure to duty.

The first point in Milner to which I ask your attention, is his apology for the use of a foreign tongue in divine service, p. 287, 288. That St. Peter and St. Paul established the Latin liturgy in the Church of Rome and elsewhere, where it now prevails; and that when the Western church was established, Latin was the vulgar tongue of Europe. What a deep scholar have we here! What an admirable excuse for the Latin service throughout Europe! He had not discovered that for the three first centuries Greek was the language of the religious, commercial, and literary world. "The Greek is read in almost every nation, the Latin is confined within its own narrow territory."[1] He did not know that the tutors and schoolmasters of Rome were from Grecian schools; that Clement, Ignatius, Hippolytus, and Polycarp, Eusebius, and even St. Chrysostom, and other ancient

[1] Graeca leguntur in omnibus fere gentibus, Latina suis finibus exiguis sane continentur. — CICERO.

fathers, wrote and preached in Greek, and we know them by a Latin version, and that the bishop of the Port of Rome wrote his sermons in Greek, and had Greek inscribed on his monument at Rome; that St. Jerome did not translate the Scriptures into the Latin Vulgate until the close of the fourth century.

How familiar this profound theologian must be with the original authors! Does he derive his facts as to the use of the Latin tongue from the *traditions*, or the *inspirations* of Rome? Is his mere *ipse dixit*, in the face of history and manuscripts, to be the *end* of *controversy?*

Again, our author, from pages 52 to 85, endeavors to weaken the authority of the Gospel, by suggesting that our Saviour gave no express orders to his disciples to write the gospels, and endeavors to raise tradition above the New Testament itself, by disparaging the latter. He is obliged, however, at page 62, to concede it was written by divine inspiration; and is not this a command from heaven to destroy the whole force of his argument?

Again, he says, (page 87,) that St. Paul refers to the Old Testament alone in his solemn injunctions to Timothy,[1] "To continue in the things he has learned," urging, "That from a child thou hast known the Holy Scriptures, which are able to make thee wise unto salvation, through faith in Christ Jesus. All Scripture is given by inspiration of God, and is profitable for doctrine, for reproof, for correction." Milner would exclude all the evangelists from Scripture, for he tells us (page 88) that the

[1] 2 Timothy iii.

"Old Testament was the only Scripture which Timothy could have read in his childhood." There is no reliance to be placed on this statement.

St. Paul, just before his martyrdom, in his old age, writes to Timothy, that he had known him from his boyhood. He refers repeatedly to his pious grandmother and mother, and to his early youth. His epistle was written long after the death of our Saviour, and the first writings of the apostles, and it may be presumed, long after the apostolic canons were framed by them, which prescribe the reading of the Scriptures, both new and old. Milner has no warrant for his rash assertion; and when St. Paul tells us, "All scripture is given by inspiration of God, and is profitable for doctrine, for reproof, for correction, for instruction in righteousness;" when even the Romanist, Milner, concedes, as he does, that the New Testament is a Scripture given by inspiration, why does not the command of our Saviour to search the Scriptures, and the dying injunction of St. Paul, embrace the whole of the inspired Scripture, whether complete or incomplete, when such command or injunction were given? Shall we elevate a proselyting priest of a decaying church above our Lord and the apostles?

Milner would strive first to elevate tradition above Scripture, and then infer from that tradition a power in a corrupt church to depart even from Scripture itself; but he makes a signal failure in his essay. The Episcopal church, and nearly all Protestants, allow some force to tradition. They respect those usages and observances which can be traced back to the days of the apostles, and draw from tradition some

proof that Scripture itself is authentic; but it will require more than a Milner to convince them that tradition is to obliterate Scripture itself, or warrant a departure from its clear commands, and the express words of the apostles. They will never allow the plea of tradition to authorize modern innovations, such as the new article of faith which the present pope seeks to introduce into the creed of Rome, namely, the immaculate conception of the virgin, virtually this: that all Christians must believe, on pain of damnation, that the mother of our Lord shared his divine prerogatives, in being exempt from original sin; or the doctrine, now in fashion at Rome, that the papal monarchy is limited only by the papal will, (which you must promise to obey,) and that nothing can correct or arrest the pope, whatever he may do, or whatever he may decree in regard to the Christian religion. Can a free-born American swear fealty at the altar to a foreign potentate who claims to be an absolute sovereign and pontiff? Can he put faith in man rather than in God? If he can, when he swears fealty to one whom cardinals and prelates have placed on God's altar, and worshipped as a deity, let him remember that when Herod was proclaimed a God,[1] he was smitten and eaten by worms; and let him reflect that if the popes of Rome have not thus perished, they have reduced the Roman race, — once the noblest on earth, — to misery, degradation, and despair; that they have been trampled upon by emperors, kings, and usurpers, and owe a precarious existence to foreign intervention.

[1] Acts 12: 22.

Again, our most accurate and learned doctor of Rome assures us (p. 172,) that Zephyrinus, Callistus, and other popes who presided over the church in the third age, "were all eminent for their sanctity." I have given you a specimen of the sanctity of Zephyrinus and Callistus, recorded by a Roman saint; and if sanctity consists of avarice, corruption, profligacy, cheating, and heresy, it was personified in them. Is this the sanctity of Rome? Are we to take the picture in black and white of a sainted bishop of extreme unholiness, or the traditional purity which is presented to us by the infallible exposition of the Church of Rome through the ignorance of her infallible priest? Again, the infallible Milner assures us, in the most positive terms (page 230), "That it is incontestable, and has been carried to the highest degree of moral evidence, that all the Christians of all the nations of the world, Greeks as well as Latins, Africans as well as Europeans, except Protestants and a handful of Vaudois peasants, have in all ages believed, and still believe, in the real presence and transubstantiation." And on page 79 he insists that the Nestorians and Greeks broke off from the Latin church before the twelfth century; that they and all the other Christian sectaries of ancient dates, in every article in dispute between Catholics and Protestants, (except that concerning the pope's supremacy,) agree with the former and condemn the latter." If he means by Catholics the Church of Rome, and *that* we are bound to presume from the whole tenor of his book, then we have a long series of positive untruths, which are refuted by conclusive evidence. Let me bring the whole array against this mendacious priest.

1st. There is no truth in the position that all Christians, of all nations and in all ages, except the Vaudois and modern Protestants, believed in the real presence. Catholic writers prove the utter falsehood of this assertion, for even popes and the Catholic church itself, and the holy fathers, hold the contrary. In my letter of February 24th, I showed you that Pope Gelasius and Pope Leo the Great, a canonized saint, have left writings, in which they both deny the real presence. I demonstrated also, by their own books, that the blessed Fathers, Cyril, Cyprian, Ambrose, and Augustine, and the celebrated Theodoretus, and Tertullian, all deny, in express and positive terms, the real presence of the body and blood of Christ at the communion.

Even St. Chrysostom, who is confirmed by Origen, says: "The body of Christ is the dead carcass, and we ourselves must be the eagles. This is a table of eagles, not of jays," meaning we must fly to heaven on eagles' wings to partake of Christ, when we take the communion, and not partake of it like voracious jays. From these passages the inferences are irresistible that the real presence was denied by some standard authorities of the Catholic church during the first five centuries, nor was it established as a doctrine of the church until the council of the Latin church, held A. D. 1215, by Pope Innocent III., long after the secession of the Latin church from the Greek first gave it explicit sanction and the name of transubstantiation. Even the Greek church does not adopt the doctrine of the real presence; and yet, in the face of all these authorities, the veracious Milner says that Berengarius was the first to doubt, and claims all

Christians of every age, except the Vaudois and modern Protestants, as believers in the doctrine.

2d. He says the Nestorians broke from the Catholic church, and they differed from it in no point now disputed by Protestants, except the pope's supremacy. This is entirely unfounded in truth. Nestorius, the archbishop of Constantinople, was at the head of the Greek church, and was sustained by the emperor and the church. They broke from him, not he from them, and he was sent into banishment. The Nestorians still exist. They not only denied the papal supremacy, when first asserted, but both then and now consider the homage paid by Romanists to pictures and images, and to the Virgin Mary, as mere idolatry; they reject the doctrine of auricular confession, the mass, and the celibacy of the clergy, as well as the papal supremacy, as you will find by various authors cited by Gibbon, c. 47, who directly contradicts the barefaced assertion of the authentic Milner.

3d. He says the Greeks broke from the Catholic church before the twelfth century. History proves this statement also to be untrue. We learn from it that the Latin church, disaffected on the subject of the festival of Easter, mourned for its sequestered property, and itself seceded from the Catholic church, and resisting the forces of the Greek emperor, sought the protection of Charlemagne. The Greek church this day has far stronger claims to be the true church than the seceding Church of Rome. It traces its bishops in direct succession from the apostles; it retains in the original Greek the Scriptures and canons given to it in Greek by

the fathers; it recognizes the authority of those Scriptures, and doubtless respects its old bishops and saints, the Greek Fathers Irenæus, Polycarp, Ignatius, and Chrysostom, as exponents of those Scriptures. It adheres to their precepts and exposition more closely than the Latin church, and compared with it, as the true church, has the vantage ground.

Why is it not superior in authority to the Church of Rome?

4th. Milner insists that the Greeks, and other ancient schismatics, differed from his church on no points contested by modern Protestants, except the pope's supremacy. But history tells us the Paulicians rejected images and other innovations; and we learn from the most conclusive evidence both of history and travellers, that the Greek church of Russia allows and recommends its flocks to read the Scriptures, which Rome, in many countries, prohibits under pain of imprisonment, and for reading which, within three months, the Madiai family now toil as galley slaves. The Greeks have rejected, and still reject, the real presence, the celibacy of the clergy, the sacrament of one kind, the worship of images, private masses, and indulgences; and recognize no infallibility or divine inspiration on the part of the pope or his priesthood.

I have given you a series of distinct and serious falsehoods, branching out into other mistatements, embodied in a work which is placed in the hands of unsuspicious youths, to allure them into the meshes of Rome. I have not leisure to point out all the errors and perversions of this fallacious

writer. But what trust can you place in the statements or inferences of one who in so many instances diverges from the sacred truth? May we not safely conclude with the Roman classic,

"Sic ab uno disce omnes."

Yours, truly and affectionately.

LETTER XVI.

Boston, November 1, 1855.

My dear S. . . : — More than two years have now elapsed since I wrote you upon the church of Rome, and traced her departure from the faith and worship of the primitive church. I did not finish the series of letters originally proposed, for I ceased to write as soon as you yielded to my facts and arguments. You require no more letters to keep you a Protestant; but a number of clergymen have urged me so strongly to finish this series of letters, and then to publish them, that I am induced to comply.

The materials are drawn from many authors. The arguments are condensed, and doubtless a jurist may present some points in a novel light. It is possible, too, that at this moment, when the country begins to appreciate the efforts of Rome to establish her colleges, churches, and convents, in all our States, to convert imaginative ladies and clergymen, and to accumulate vast possessions in the hands of her bishops, that such letters may prove useful to the public. Should they aid others as they have aided you, I shall not regret the effort to complete them.

In my seventh letter, allusion was made to the homage paid in Romish churches to images, to the worship of the Virgin, and to the waxen candles borne in procession, and to the relics and holy water,

which are still used to impress the ignorant and superstitious.

It is my purpose now to prove that the Church of Rome, in resorting to these devices, has not only departed from the primitive church, but has copied, in many particulars, the unholy rites of paganism. In doing so, I shall avail myself freely of a letter from Rome, written A. D. 1729 by the celebrated Conyers Middleton.

This eminent scholar had ample opportunity to witness the pageantry of the church, and the artifices to which it resorts in Italy, without caution or reserve. He traced many of its rites to their origin, through the memorials of the past, which still exist in that classic land.

On entering the churches he was particularly struck with the use of incense, the smoke and scent of which filled the churches after every solemn service, and recalled to his mind the heathen temples and altars which are seldom or never mentioned by the ancients without the terms of perfumed or incensed. In some of these churches where you see numerous altars smoking with incense, how easy it is to imagine ourself in the temple of Venus,—

> "Ubi templum illi centumque Sabæo,
> Thure calent aræ, sertisque recentibus halant."[1]

And how readily will he recall the lines of Virgil:—

> "Thuricremis cum dona imponeret aris."[2]

[1] "Her hundred altars there with garlands crowned,
And richest incense smoking, breathe around
Sweet odors."— *Virgil's Æneid*, I. 417.

[2] "While placing gifts on incense-burning altars."
Æneid, IV. 453.

And the verses of Ovid: —

> "Sæpe Jovem vidi cum jam sua mittere vellet
> Fulmina, thure dato sustinuisse manum."[1]

In the old bas-reliefs, where a heathen sacrifice is represented, we never fail to see a boy in white attending upon the priest, with a little box in his hands containing the incense for the altar. And still in the Church of Rome there is seen a boy in a surplice waiting at the altar with the sacred utensils, among which is the thuribulum or vessel of incense, which priests with much ceremony wave over the altar during the service.

Under the pagan emperors the use of incense for any religious purpose was thought so contrary to the obligations of Christianity, that in their persecutions, the mode of convicting a Christian was by requiring him to throw the least grain of it into the censer or on to the altar.

The Christian emperors, on the contrary, considered the rite so heathenish that, under Theodosius, the very houses or places where it was burned were by law confiscated to government.

The next thing which attracts the notice of strangers visiting the churches of Rome is the use of holy water. This is taken from a marble font near the door, and the priests sprinkle with it all who enter or depart. Middleton informs us that even his own horses were sprinkled with holy water on a festal day, by a priest in a surplice, for the moderate sum

[1] "I have often seen Jove, when about to send his thunderbolt, checked by the offer of incense."

of one shilling and sixpence, just as the horses in the Circensian games were sprinkled with water.

This practice is drawn so directly from paganism that the church does not scruple to avow it. The Jesuit La Cerda, in commenting on this passage of Virgil,—

"Spargens rore levi,"[1]

says:—

"Hence was derived the custom of the holy church, to provide holy water at the entrance of the churches." "Amula," says the learned Montfaucon, "was a vase of holy water placed by the heathens at the entrance of their temples to sprinkle themselves with, and rich vases, designed to hold this water, were given by Crœsus to the temple of Apollo at Delphi." The very composition of this holy water, namely, salt mingled with water, was the same among the heathen as it now is among the papists, and so important a part of their religious offices did it form, that the method of excommunicating in pagan times was to forbid access to the holy water.

The aspersorium or sprinkling brush, like that now used by the priests of Rome, may be seen in the bas-reliefs, or ancient coins, among the insignia of the pagan priesthood.

The primitive fathers condemn the use of holy water, now sanctioned by the Church of Rome, as a custom heathenish, impious, and detestable. Justin Martyr says it was invented by demons in imitation of baptism,[2] and the apostate Julian used to sprinkle

[1] "Sprinkling with light dew."

[2] Justin Martyr, Apol. I. p. 91. Edit. III.

the provisions in the markets with holy water to compel the Christians either to starve or to eat what according to their religion was polluted.[1]

The scholar, on entering the Church of Rome, is further struck by the number of wax candles and lamps which are kept constantly burning before the shrines and images of saints. These recall to his memory many passages in the heathen writers where lamps and candles are described as burning before the altars and statues of their deities, and he is thus furnished with another proof of the conformity of popery to paganism.

Thus Cicero, in his oration against Verres, speaks of —

"Cupidinem argenteum cum lampade."[2]

And Virgil writes: —

"Centum aras posuit, vigilemque sacraverat ignem."[3]

The primitive writers, in commenting on paganism, expose the absurdity of this custom. Lactantius, an early Christian author, says: "They light up candles to God, as if he lived in the dark, and do not they deserve to pass for madmen who offer lamps to the author and giver of light?" In the ancient inscriptions many instances are found of donations of lamps and candlesticks to the temples of the gods, and many of the altars of modern Rome are now decorated with gold and silver lamps and candlesticks,

[1] C. Mid. Letter, p. 189.

[2] "A silver Cupid with a lamp." — *Oration against Verres.*

[3] He created an hundred altars, and consecrated the watchful flame. — *Æneid* IV. 200.

the gifts of princes; and when they are illuminated at great festivals by a profusion of waxen candles, they resemble the pagan altar or the rich sideboard of a prince, more than the altar of the living God.

We learn from ancient authors and inscriptions, that votive offerings of pictures, images, and tablets were suspended in pagan temples. The temples of Esculapius were rich in these offerings, which Livy informs us were the price of the cures he had effected. Even consuls at the head of armies offered gifts to Apollo and Esculapius, and miraculous cures were ascribed in the inscriptions to those benevolent deities. The Church of Rome has copied this usage of paganism, gifts of great value are hung at the shrines of saints and the Virgin, and the church of Loretto has become a proverb for its riches thus acquired, as the temple of Apollo at Delphi was once a proverb with the ancients for the same reason.

Homer adverts to it, when he says: —

> "Not all the wealth Apollo's temple holds,
> Can purchase one day's life."

Robes sparkling with jewels are now presented in Romish churches to the Virgin, which are but counterparts of the robe —

> "Sparkling with rich embroidery like a star,"

which, we learn from Homer, was presented by Hecuba to Pallas.

In other respects there is a close resemblance between paganism and popery. In the solemnities of ancient Rome the chief magistrate took part, dressed

in robes of ceremony. He was attended by priests in surplices, bearing wax candles and images, arrayed in their most costly robes, and these were followed by the youth of the place, singing hymns and bearing flambeaux. Apuleius gives us this description, which might pass as well for a description of a modern procession at a festival in Rome.

It was the practice, too, of the ancient Romans to erect altars to their gods on rocks and eminences, and in deep groves and forests, and to hang crowns, garlands, and offerings on stately oaks, and now we see through Italy chapels, altars, and oratories in the same places, filled with images; we find there, too, votive offerings suspended on oaks or crosses.

It was the tradition in ancient Rome that on the eve of great calamities, the statue of Apollo wept for three days and nights successively; that all the images in the temple of Juno sweat drops of blood, and the statue of Fortune often spoke aloud, and now we hear of Madonnas and images of our Saviour weeping and speaking, and of the annual melting of the blood of St. Januarius, a miracle which Addison long since, in his sketches of Italy, described as a clumsy imposture.

The modern priests of Rome have closely copied their predecessors, in their processions and their miracles; and, when rearing their altars and chapels in groves, erecting their crosses, and hanging their garlands and images upon oaks, and worshipping on high mountains, what respect do they pay to the command given by God to the Israelites? "Ye shall utterly destroy the places wherein the nation served their gods, upon the high mountains, and upon the

hills, and under every green tree; and ye shall overthrow their altars, break their pillars, burn their groves, and hew down the graven images of their gods."[1]

In imperial Rome it was the custom to deify the emperor and to worship his statue; but Caligula was the first ruler of pagan Rome who offered his foot to be kissed. This was considered a gross indignity, and Seneca declaims upon it as the last affront to expiring liberty. But this servile act, which Rome could scarcely brook under imperial sway, is now the standing ceremonial of the Holy See, and has been, if it is not to-day, the condition of access to the reigning pope, although it has no better origin than the insolence of a pagan emperor.

I might compare the relics of the ancient city with those of modern Rome, the staff of Romulus with the rod of Moses, the cottage of Romulus with the house of Loretto. I might draw a parallel between the mendicant priests of Cicero,[2] who exhausted the means of families or increased superstition, and the mendicant friars of modern Italy. I might compare the sanctity of temples with the shelter of churches, the austerities of the vestals and pagan priests with the seclusion of nunneries and monasteries; but I trust I have already shown the conformity of the Church of Rome to ancient paganism.

Yours, truly and affectionately.

[1] Deut. 12: 2, 3.

[2] Described by Cicero.

LETTER XVII.

LYNN BEACH, November 3, 1855.

DEAR S....:—I cannot well finish these letters without a brief glance at the Jesuits, that ancient and powerful society, long the directors of monarchs and now the chief agents of Rome in Europe and America. If a papal college is to be established in England, a protestant clergyman to be converted at Rome; if in the United States children are to be withdrawn from the public schools, and educated by a sect; if churches are to be wrested from the men that built them, or church property to be accumulated in the hands of bishops obedient to a foreign sovereign, a Jesuit steps forward to execute the edict.

The Christian world in the midst of the nineteenth century has been startled by a solemn conclave of bishops assembled from Europe, Asia, Africa, and America, to settle the question of the immaculate conception; and now by the decree of this conclave, every true Catholic is required to believe as an article of his faith, and under pain of everlasting perdition, that the Virgin Mary was born free from original sin, whatever intimations to the contrary he may have drawn from Holy Writ. Strange as it may appear to the distant observer that Rome should pass a decree in the nineteenth century which she did not hazard in the plenitude of her power, our surprise is dimin-

ished when we learn from Seymour, in his Mornings at Rome with the Jesuits, just issued from the press, that in their efforts to convert him they admitted that the worship of the Virgin Mary was fast increasing, and "that the religion of Italy was latterly becoming less and less the religion of Christ,"[1] and that it was a favorite doctrine of the Jesuits, and taught by de Liguori, since canonized by Rome, that a devotion to Mary was more beneficial than a devotion to Christ. We need but refer to his miraculous ladders wrought into an altar-piece at Milan, in which the Virgin appears at the head of one helping her votaries into heaven, and our Saviour stands at the top of the other, while those who ascend his ladder are falling back to the earth. When canons and professors of the colleges of Rome admit that worshippers are deserting the altars of our Saviour for the shrine of the Virgin, and that they consider the Virgin more compassionate than our Saviour, (the only intercessor between God and man); when we see that under this influence a transformation is taking place in the faith and religion of Rome, we cannot pass by this remarkable society, this anomaly in the history of religion.[2] Far be it from me to deny the merits of many of its early members or their zeal as missionaries, their efforts for education, or their ability as editors of the classics, but in tracing their history we find their converts were but partially reclaimed, and have in many cases relapsed into heathenism; that their best scholars were made

[1] Seymour, p. 46.

[2] See Seymour's Mornings among the Jesuits at Rome, p. 46 to 50.

Jesuits; and their authors, however careful as editors, rarely enriched the world with original ideas. Commencing in humility and self-denial, they have studied the aggrandizement of their order, and at some periods have monopolized the offices of church and state. Apparently devoted to religion, they have embarked in commerce, and astonished the commercial world by the extent of their operations. Aiming to direct the consciences of mankind, they have established a code of morals in conflict with the Scriptures. Identified with the Inquisition and intolerant of heresy, they have established the most flagrant of heresies in Rome itself. After reaching the highest pitch of power and greatness in Portugal, Spain, France, and Austria have been successively expelled from each. After vowing obedience to the pope, they are by the verdict of history chargeable with the death of a sovereign pontiff. Finally, after maintaining the infallibility of the Holy See, they have been established by one pope, censured by a second, suppressed by a third, and finally restored by a fourth infallible pontiff.

I propose to draw from authentic sources, principally Roman Catholic, a brief sketch of the origin, code, progress, downfall, and revival of this remarkable order, whose power, talent, influence, and wealth once overshadowed the religious world.

In 1521, Ignatius Loyala, a young and spirited officer of Spain, was wounded at the siege of Pampeluna. Being compelled by his wounds to abandon the field of chivalry and the pursuit of pleasure, he became a champion of the Virgin, and after some years of devotion and study, having assembled a

number of men of talent he founded the Society of Jesus. In 1540 he obtained from Paul Farnese a brief, establishing the society under which he became the first general of the order.

The early constitutions of this society have been preserved and published; they may be found in the Astor library of New York, and are often referred to in the letters of Pascal. The candidates for admission must possess either talents, acquirements, rank, or wealth; must be comely in person, free from all personal defects, and able to control their feelings. Before reaching the rank of priests, they pass through three degrees and undergo a long probation, and if at any time dismissed for incompetence or gross misconduct, the rules of the society require they should be dismissed with pleasant words, injunctions of secrecy, and a supply of money. A general, elected for life, is at the head of the society; he governs with regal power, and all the members of the society are bound to yield implicit obedience to his orders. He has power to dispense with vows, to absolve from obedience to the pope, to license either venial or mortal sin, and when he directs an act sinful in itself, it must be performed by his inferiors in the most effective manner. He appoints all the officers and controls the property of the society, and every member must submit his person, fortune, will, and conscience to his dictation.

After devotion to the Virgin the first duty of the Jesuit is confession. He must confess monthly; no diversity of opinion is permissible, no book can be published without the consent of the general, and no departure in matters of faith or doctrine are per-

mitted in thought, word, or deed. Each Jesuit is made a spy upon his associates, and each one who fails to confess or to report any offence to his superior, becomes amenable to punishment.

The conduct and talents of all distinguished Jesuits are reported to the general; each is devoted to the service for which he is found best adapted; each directed to receive for the society the emoluments of office, and while he lives a life of apparent humility to do all in his power for the advancement of the order. The whole power of the society, whether for good or ill, is wielded by the general, and no one beside him is permitted to utter an original idea.

In 1656, Pascal, that prodigy of parts, as he is styled by Locke and Stewart, published his Provincial Letters, and gives us in them the Jesuits' code of morals, collected from works published with the sanction of their society. These letters, written by a Roman Catholic, although assailed, have never been refuted, and for two centuries have maintained their celebrity. They give us a vivid picture of the morals of the society. He tells us "the Jesuits had adopted a pliant system of morality, which they bent with facility to every taste, every circumstance, and every passion. A Jesuit may kill a person who insults him, or is about to injure his character." Virtually he may punish insult, and even truth itself, with death, if injurious to his honor.[1]

These maxims, so revolting to the Christian and philosopher of the nineteenth century, are laid down with some degree of caution by Jesuit writers, but

[1] See Constitutions, pars. 1, c. II. § 13; pars. 6, c. V. § 1; pars. 3, c. I. § 18.

still we find them in their books. Thus in one passage we are told, "that whatever celebrated authors approve is safe in practice."

In another, that many celebrated authors are of opinion that one man may kill another for a box on the ear.

In a third, that whatever is allowed in speculation, is allowed in practice.

In a fourth, that it is allowable in speculation to kill for slander.

And Caramuel, a Jesuit author, states, that more "than twenty doctors maintain that a false accusation is permissible to maintain one's honor."

How closely do these maxims agree with the precepts of our Saviour, and how much need we wonder that the sanguinary code of the duellist found favor in France under the rule of the Jesuits, when such precepts guided the consciences of its confessors!

When pressed on these points the Jesuits have sought to avoid them, by the suggestion that the order was not responsible for the books or errors of its individual members; but their very rules render this ground untenable, for they permit no works to be published without the approbation of their general.

I might refer to the secret rules or *secreta monita* of the Jesuits, published in Westphalia, more than a century since, by a discarded member, which confirm the authors cited by Pascal.

I might also refer to the right claimed to depose Protestant monarchs from their thrones at the bid-

ding of the pope. But we have without them ample proof, that the precepts of Christianity were, with the Jesuit, subservient to pride and ambition. The first aim of the society was to control the education of the world, and they selected for their teachers, those members who would adopt a life of frugality and retirement. Renouncing the pleasures of the world, establishing an apparent concord of science and virtue, they were, to use the language of Alembert, once considered "an assemblage of heroes for religion and humanity." At first they taught alike the children of the rich and the poor, and took pains to develop the talents of all who showed superior intellect, and to draw them into the order. Promising a monthly mass and perpetual honors to all who should found a college or a school, at a period coeval with the revival of letters, their society rapidly increased, and soon became the principal teachers of Europe.

Their defender, Leibnitz, concedes, "there were among them men of ardent minds, who, cost what it would, sometimes attempted measures not altogether justifiable, for the aggrandizement of the order." This class they sent into the world to take part in secular affairs, to seek preferment and power, and to practise the precepts of their order. Mingling with the world the Jesuit assumed the "semblance of a sainted man absorbed in heavenly things, while in reality revolving in his capacious mind projects of unbounded ambition." He courted the favor of courtiers and ministers of State, and became the confessor and director of kings. At the close of

their first century, the society had obtained a footing in nearly every kingdom of civilized Europe, except protestant England.

At this epoch their power culminated; they controlled the education and directed the consciences of a large part of Christendom; they commanded secrets and anticipated the action of courts. They aided in establishing the inquisition and destroying heresy with fire and sword. They met and checked the reformation, and reconquered the south of Europe. Their general, Oliva, resigning the immediate supervision of his society to inferiors, became the ally, friend, and valued correspondent of most of the crowned heads of Europe. He was the depository of their secrets and cherished plans, and evinced in his published correspondence the skill of a consummate politician. The society under him attained to the plenitude of its power. Forgetting the precepts of frugality, humility, and individual poverty, and the devotion to education on which it was founded, it lived rather on its past fame, than on its adaptation to the wants of humanity. Oliva continued at its head from 1663 to 1680. Retiring from Rome, says Gioberti the Italian historian, to a country-seat where he conducted his correspondence, "he occupied a delicious villa near Albano, and enjoyed the pleasures of a table that would have tempted the appetite of Vitellius." An example so fascinating was not without its influence, and the members of the society lost in inglorious ease and indulgence, a part of the ardor and energy which had aided them in the attainment of wealth, power,

and grandeur, and prevented the ruin of the Church of Rome. Thus passed the golden, or rather the iron age of the society, but it contained within itself the principle of its own dissolution.

Yours, truly and affectionately.

LETTER XVIII.

Lynn Beach, Nov. 5, 1855.

My dear S....:—I gave you in my last a brief sketch of the origin and progress of the Jesuits. Before I describe their fall, let me cite from the historian Macaulay his graphic picture of the order: "The activity and zeal of Loyola bore down all opposition, and under his rule the order of Jesuits began to exist, and grew rapidly to the full measure of its gigantic powers. With what vehemence, with what policy, with what exact discipline, with what dauntless courage, with what self-denial, with what forgetfulness of the dearest private ties, with what intense and stubborn devotion to a single end, with what unscrupulous laxity and versatility in the choice of means, the Jesuits fought the battle of their church, is written in every page of the annals of Europe during several generations. The order possessed itself at once of all the strong-holds which command the public mind; of the pulpit, of the press, of the confessional, of the academies. Wherever the Jesuits preached, the church was too small for the audience. The name of a Jesuit on a title-page secured the circulation of a book.

"It was in the ears of a Jesuit that the powerful, and the noble, and the beautiful, breathed the secret his-

tory of their lives. It was at the feet of the Jesuit that the youth of the higher and middle classes were brought up, from the first rudiments to the courses of rhetoric and philosophy. Literature and science, lately associated with infidelity or with heresy, now became the allies of orthodoxy.

"Nor was it less their office to plot against the thrones and lives of apostate kings, to spread evil rumors, to raise tumults, to influence cruel wars, to arm the hand of the assassin. Inflexible in nothing but in their fidelity to the church, they were equally ready to appeal in her cause to the spirit of loyalty and to the spirit of freedom. Extreme doctrines of obedience and extreme doctrines of liberty, — the right of rulers to misgovern the people, the right of every one of the people to plunge his knife in the heart of a bad ruler, were circulated by the same man, according as he addressed himself to the subject of Philip or the subject of Elizabeth. Some described these men as the most rigid, and some as the most indulgent of spiritual directors. And both descriptions were correct. The truly devout listened with awe to the high and saintly morality of the Jesuit. The gay cavalier, who had run his rival through the body, the frail beauty, who had forgotten her marriage vow, found in the Jesuit an easy and well-bred man of the world, tolerant of the little irregularities of people of fashion. The confessor was strict or lax, according to the temper of the penitent. His first object was to drive no person out of the pale of the church, since there were bad people, it was better they should be bad Catholics than bad Protes-

tants. If a person was so unfortunate as to be a bravo, or libertine, or a gambler, that was no reason for making him a heretic also."

There is a vein of irony in this description; but by such zeal, devotion, and energy, by such loose and pliant morality, did the Jesuits attain to power. Pervading the world, winning the confidence of favorites, statesmen, and princes, they acquired through the confessional the secrets of Europe. The general of their order, in his delicious villa at Albano, was the centre of a system, whose telegraphic wires radiated to every court in Europe, and were alive to every political movement. From this centre he directed his agents and controlled the fortunes of Christendom.

The history of the Jesuits, however, was not free from vicissitudes; and now that I have portrayed their rise, progress, and morals, let me picture to you their reverses, and the successive steps of their decline. They did not obtain an ascendency in France without a serious struggle. When the crown of France devolved on Henry IV., a Protestant prince, they denied his title, and published tracts to show that he was out of the pale of the church, and excluded by heresy from the throne. They were active in forming the League of Catholic Princes, and when the valor and prudence of Henry won the crown, his life was attempted by Châtel, who admitted at his trial, that he had learned in a Jesuit college that it was lawful to kill the king, and that no one should obey him. After this offence, the parliament of France, in 1594, expelled the Jesuits, levelled the house of Châtel to the ground, and erected a pyramid upon the spot, with the inscription that it

was designed "to perpetuate the infamy of the assassin Chartel and his teachers, the Jesuits, whose baneful heresy was the cause of this offence."

In 1603, Henry IV., having secured his crown and embraced the Roman Catholic faith, recalled the Jesuits. The society refer to this result, and to his language on several public occasions, to show their innocence; but Sully, the great minister of Henry, has transmitted to us in his memoirs the true sentiments of his royal master, who told him "he was compelled either to recall the Jesuits and free them from the infamy under which they labored, and to trust to their promises, or to banish them more absolutely from his kingdom, in which case he should enjoy no peace, but live in perpetual fear of an attempt upon his life." The easy and kind-hearted monarch, who sacrificed his religion to his crown, and aimed at a life of ease and pleasure, appreciated their conduct and their power, and confided his safety to their gratitude.

For three centuries they could gain no foothold in England, although they made repeated efforts under Mary, Charles, and James II. Queen Elizabeth, in her proclamation of November 15, 1602, declares, "the Jesuits had excited her subjects to revolt, invited foreign princes to compass her death, engaged in affairs of State, and undertaken to dispose of her crown, and decrees their expulsion from the kingdom."

In 1606 Venice expelled them also for plots against the State, and after an interval of many years, reluctantly restored them.

Their power, however, in the Roman Catholic States received no serious check until the latter part of the eighteenth century, when the affairs of Europe

were guided by the celebrated ministers of State Carvalho, in Portugal, the Duke de Choiseul, in France, and the Count de Aranda, in Spain, while Austria was ruled by that spirited queen, Maria Theresa. Their suppression, also, was not decreed until Clement the XIVth, the celebrated author Ganganelli, had become pope of Rome.

The downfall of the Jesuits was preceded by a great departure from their ancient poverty and humility. They had acquired power, and were intolerant in its exercise. They had usurped the control of States, and governed with harshness. They had embarked in trade, and aimed to monopolize the commerce of the Indies. They had ceased to educate the poor and to elicit talent for their order, and confined their education mostly to the classes who could compensate them with presents.

The overthrow of Port Royal,[1] the massacre of the Huguenots, the revocation of the edict of Nantes, with all which they were identified, the exclusion from office in France of every person not entirely devoted to their order, alienated the people; and their persecution of the Jansenists, who adopted the purer precepts and faith of St. Augustine, gave general offence. They provoked also the hostility of men of letters, whose influence was beginning to predominate.[2]

The order at this period had acquired vast wealth, for at the time of its suppression it possessed 39

[1] For an account of Port Royal and the Jansenists, see appendix, p. 261.

[2] Nouvelles Considerations Versailles, 1817, Nicolini's History, p. 328.

houses, 61 novitiates, 196 seminaries, 335 residences, 223 missions, 22,782 members; a property estimated at two hundred millions of dollars; and numbered in its ranks 24 cardinals, 19 princes, 121 titular bishops, 6 electors of the empire, 21 archbishops, and 9 saints.

But in the midst of this vast wealth, power, and influence, the day of its ruin had arrived. The match was upon the mine which had sapped its foundations.

In 1757, an attempt was made to assassinate the king of Portugal, and, after a judicial inquiry, several parties were sentenced to death. In the course of the proceedings, the Jesuits were implicated, and Carvalho, Marquis of Pombal, issued an edict for their banishment, and declared them traitors and rebels.

This was but a prelude to their expulsion from France; but the more immediate cause was a very singular lawsuit. Lavallette, a Jesuit, and General of Martinique, purchased large estates and two thousand slaves in that island; he also entered into extensive speculations, and became insolvent. His creditors commenced a suit against the order of Jesuits, and the parliament deciding against the order, it was made liable, by a decree, for more than two millions of francs. But this judgment was not its only misfortune. The court required it to produce the constitutions of the order. A copy of this document, which had long been concealed with scrupulous care, was produced under a requisition from parliament. These constitutions became the subject of public discussion, and at length were sub-

mitted to a council of fifty-one French bishops. They decided that the article, requiring unlimited obedience to the general, conflicted with the laws of France, and the duty of the subject to the sovereign.[1]

At length, in 1764, the parliament of France passed a decree, banishing them from the realm, as parties opposed to all authority, spiritual and ecclesiastical; and the followers of Jansenius, in no grateful spirit, wrote their epitaph as follows: —

A Society
Which counselled and committed
Crimes of every Nature,
The Scourge and Disgrace of Mankind,
Rulers of Monarchs,
Perverters of Scripture,
Aspirants after the Empire
Of the whole World.

In 1767, they were implicated in a revolt in Spain. King Charles III. had adopted a Capuchin confessor, and refused to intrust the reins of government to the Jesuits. The Marquis de Ossun, ambassador from France, in his despatches to the Duke de Choiseul, narrates a conversation with the king of Spain upon the subject. The king assured him the Jesuits had poisoned the minds of his subjects, and during the revolt of 1767 were detected in the act of distributing gold among the populace. This sealed their fate in Spain. The Marquis de Aranda sent letters to all the provinces, to be opened on a certain day, expelling them from the kingdom and confiscating their property.

[1] Nicolini's History of the Jesuits, p. 344 to 346.

Austria soon followed the example of Portugal, France, and Spain, and united with the other great powers of Europe in demanding with one voice from the Holy See the suppression of the order.

Italy was now their refuge, and here they maintained a desperate struggle. One pontiff died, and was succeeded by Cardinal Ganganelli, known to history as Clement XIV. For five years he temporized, listened to complaints, investigated charges, and at length, July 23, 1773, issued his memorable brief for the entire suppression of the order.

This paper, issued by the head of the Roman Catholic church, and composed by one of the ablest pontiffs of the church, after five years' reflection, recites the various charges which had been made to the Holy See against the order. Among them —

Their insatiable avidity for temporal possessions.

Their dangerous doctrines.

Their use and explanations of maxims which the Holy See had proscribed as scandalous, and manifestly contrary to good morals; maxims which had produced intestine troubles in the Catholic States.

Their interference with secular offices.

And arrives at the conclusion that the church cannot maintain a firm and permanent peace without the dissolution of the society.

The brief then proceeds to decree the dissolution of the order, the confiscation of its estates, reserving a moderate stipend for the members,[1] and to forbid all to teach, except those who were determined to maintain the tranquillity of the world. But the society, in

[1] Nicolini, p. 386; St. Priest.

its death-struggle, although allied to the Church of Rome, was not disposed to acquiesce in the decree, or to practise that obedience to the pope which the church exacts. While the question was pending, the movable property of the society disappeared, its current expenses were unpaid, and debts were allowed to accumulate, sufficient to absorb a large portion of its real estate. The death of the pope was predicted, in case he signed the brief, and when Clement subscribed his name he was heard to say, "This suppression will be my death."

He was then in full activity and in perfect health, but in the course of a few months, after eating a hearty meal, he became suddenly ill, his appetite and strength deserted him; he told De Benis, the French minister, that he was poisoned. He gradually wasted away. At length he died. His person, after death, exhibited the effects of slow poison. His face was livid, his lips blackened, his body emaciated, his hair and skin clung to his bed-linen. Rome was nearly unanimous in the opinion that he was poisoned, although the physician Salsetti reported that he could find no proof of poison, and ascribed his death to excessive perspiration and the poverty of his blood. But the concurrence of events, the predictions so soon realized, the joy evinced by the Jesuits upon his decease, the opinion he often expressed, that he was poisoned, the singular fact that he was in high health seized by a wasting disease, without apparent cause, the appearance of his body, the language of his successor, who did not hesitate to express the opinion to De Benis, that he paid the forfeit of his life for signing the brief, the opinion of De Benis himself, which

appears by the official correspondence of this minister with the court of France, all tend to implicate the Jesuits.[1]

Clement XIV. apparently sealed with his blood the condemnation of the order.

The fall of the Jesuits and the circumstances attending it, were a severe blow to the Roman Catholic faith. To cite Macaulay again: —

"The Church of Rome was still in outward show as stately and splendid as ever, but her foundations were undermined. No State had quitted her communion or confiscated her revenues (since the Reformation), but the reverence of the people was everywhere departing from her. The first great warning stroke was the fall of that society which, in the conflict with Protestantism, had saved the Catholic church from destruction. The order of Jesus had never recovered from the injury received in the struggle with Port Royal. It was now still more rudely assailed by the philosophers. Its spirit was broken, its reputation was tainted; insulted by all the men of genius in Europe, condemned by the civil magistrates, feebly defended by the chief of the hierarchy, it fell, and great was the fall thereof."

The members of the society, after vain efforts for a revocation of the brief, retired into obscurity, to wait for brighter days; or took refuge in the North, which was opened to them by Frederick the Great and Catherine II., with a view to conciliate the Roman Catholic subjects, acquired by the conquest of Silesia and the partition of Poland. Here for

[1] Nicolini, St. Priest.

years they lingered, until A. D. 1815, when they began to interfere with the institutions of Russia, and Alexander banished them from St. Petersburg and Warsaw.

But with the holy alliance, a brighter day dawned upon the Jesuits; the restored sovereigns were led to believe, that they required the aid of Jesuits to secure their thrones; and the Church of Rome, prostrated by the revolutions of Europe, looked to them for assistance. Before the close of A. D. 1815, Pius VII. issued a decree, to rescind the brief of suppression, alleging their valuable services in Russia, their past efficiency, and urging too, that "the bark of St. Peter, tossed on stormy seas, required the aid of vigorous and experienced rowers." They were invited again to Spain and France; and the ancient order, without any reversal of the judgment, under which it had been condemned as dangerous to the peace and incompatible with the laws of nations, after a lapse of nearly half a century, found itself restored to its ancient position. Since A. D. 1815 it has rapidly expanded, it has recovered six thousand members, and a large portion of its property.

The society is now commencing in the United States, as it began in Europe; founding colleges throughout the Union, educating the poor as well as the rich, and selecting the most intelligent for its own order, and it is for the future to determine, how far it can gain an ascendency, in a country where popular sovereignty and education predominate.

In the Old World it has usually allied itself with fanaticism and arbitrary power against the rights of

the people. What form it is to assume, and what aspect to take in the political struggles of America, it is for the future to determine. Let us console ourselves with the hope that —

"Magna est veritas et prævalebit."[1]

Yours, truly and affectionately.

[1] For sketches of the Jesuits and Jansenists and a description of Portroyal, see Appendix, p. 236, 245, 259, 261.

LETTER XIX.

LYNN BEACH, November, 1855.

MY DEAR S. . . : — Should you apply to a member of the Roman Hierarchy, or ask in a Roman Catholic bookstore for the oath or promise to obey the Roman pontiff, which is imposed on adults at baptism, or for the bishop's oath of obedience to "his Lord the Pope, and his successors," without which he cannot be installed, some effort would doubtless be made to quiet your republican scruples, or you might be told with a placid and pleasant smile, as I have been, that such vows of obedience relate only to spiritual things.

Sanguine as I am as to the future prospects of the Protestant faith, yet at this moment when the Romish Hierarchy claim that they have made great progress in England, where they are gaining access to her seats of learning and offices in her colleges; when they seek to revive in the Church of England the forms and ceremonies of mediæval times, and the superstitious observances of the dark ages; when they tell us, in the language of Bossuet, "that Rome is not exhausted in her old age, or the force of her voice extinct;" when they point to England as the field for their next triumph, and our divines apprise us that they have matured conspiracies to restore to the Roman pontiff his domain of America; when the emperor of France makes new con-

[1] For bishop's oaths, see Appendix, p. 233.

cessions to the pope, and sustains his triple crown by French bayonets; when the Emperor of Austria, with a blind fatuity, signs a new concordat, by which he resigns to the pope the education and religion of thirty-four millions, it is well to consider the origin, nature, and extent of that papal power, which the Church of Rome would have predominate in America.

"The Church," to use the language of our jurist Evans,[1] in his able treatise on the Episcopate, "is a spiritual kingdom, erected for the promotion of the spiritual welfare of mankind. It is not of this world, because its chief end relates to another. It deals entirely with the spirits or souls of men, and is therefore a spiritual society. The State, on the other hand, is a temporal society erected for the promotion of the temporal welfare of mankind. Into this, material things largely enter. Hence it follows that the State must possess the ultimate dominion over material things. So the dominion of the State is over the bodies and goods of men, that of the Church over their hearts and minds."

For several centuries the Church of Rome acquiesced in this view of the relative power of the Church and State, and although the seeds of ambition began to expand under the reckless and aspiring Callistus and Damasus, and although Felix III.,[2] A. D. 383, advised his clergy, "that it was safest in causes relating to God, to study to subject the royal will to the priesthood," and although menaces were sometimes used by the bishops of Rome,

[1] "The Episcopate," by Hugh Davy Evans, 1855, p. 19.

[2] P. Felix, III. Dist. X. c. 3.

the clergy for centuries afterwards recognized the paramount power of the Roman emperor; and it was not until the pontificate of the fierce and imperious Hildebrand,[1] the contemporary of William the Conqueror, in the eleventh century, that the Roman pontiff claimed a supremacy over kings and emperors.

In the fifth and sixth centuries, Popes Gelasius[2] and Symmachus,[3] expressly recognize the imperial power as superior to their own.

Thus Pope Gelasius I. writes to the emperor Anastasius: —

"I, as a Roman born, do love, worship, and reverence thee, as a Roman prince;" and further, "The prelates of religion, aware that empire was conferred on thee by Divine Providence, obey thy laws and thee." Again he writes, "Christ has distinguished the offices of civil and ecclesiastical power, by their appropriate acts and dignities," and neither should interfere with the other.

Afterwards, Pope Symmachus I. writes, "We did not excommunicate thee, O emperor, but Acacius." "If you mingle yourself, you are not excommunicated by us, but by yourself." He further writes, "that Acacius was excommunicated with the *assent of the senate;*" that he, the pope, had not presumed to excommunicate the emperor, but had followed without doubt the acts of his predecessors.

Again, Pope Gelasius, in another letter, writes, "My predecessor (Symmachus) did not so much as

[1] Pope Gregory VII.
[2] P. Gelas. I. Epist. 8, (ad Anast. Im.)
[3] P. Symmachus, I. Epist. 7.

touch the name of the emperor,[1] and repels the charge, that he ever condemned Anastasius, the emperor."

Afterwards, Pope Gregory I.,[2] as became a good and pious man, acknowledged, in his letters, the emperor to be "his lord, by God's gift, superior to all men, — to whom he was subject, whom he was in duty bound to obey, regarding it as high presumption for any one to set himself above the power of the emperor, by assuming the title of universal bishop."

Pope Agatho, in the seventh century, at Rome, in the acts of the council, which preceded the sixth Œcumenical Council, A. D. 680, styles the emperor, Constantine Pogonatus, "his Lord," and avows "himself with all the presidents of the church, servants of the emperor."

After him, Pope Constantine was commanded by the emperor Anastasius to repair to Constantinople, A. D. 703, and the most holy man, as Anastasius in his memoirs informs us, did obey the imperial mandate.[3]

Even after Pope Boniface III. had obtained from the usurper Phocas, the title of universal bishop, Pope Gregory II., who withdrew Italy from the oriental empire, addresses a letter to the emperor, Leo Isaurus, and admits the emperor to be "the lord and the king of the Christians," and himself, consequently, subject to him.[4]

[1] P. Gelas. I. Epist. 4.

[2] P. Greg. I. Epist. 11, 26.

[3] Anastasius in vit. P. Constansine.

[4] A copy of which in the original Greek, is cited by Barrow.

A noble bishop, more than seven centuries since, wrote upon this subject, that "I read, and read again the records of the Roman kings and emperors, and I nowhere find that any of them was excommunicated or deprived of his kingdom by the Roman pontiff," and this, too, in face of the fact that both infidels and heretics filled at times the imperial throne. If the early popes had power to depose monarchs, why were not the apostate and infidel Julian, and the Arians, Theodoric and Constantinus, hurled from their thrones? Why have we not in those days heard a murmur from the Vatican?

But subsequently there was a marvellous change. During the ages of superstition the popes of Rome began to acquire temporal power, and to indulge in worldly ambition. Those decretal letters were fabricated, which nearly all the critics of Christendom have for centuries pronounced spurious, and which carry in their language discrepancies and quotations, the most conclusive evidence of forgery. These contributed at that period to the influence of the popes. They took part in the quarrels of princes when power was to be gained. Even William of Normandy did not embark for England until Alexander II., who preceded Hildebrand, had recognized his claims, and sent him a ring, with the hair of St. Peter, and a consecrated banner. But Pope Alexander II. did not throw the broad mantle of religion over the violence of his invasion without an adequate motive, for the historian Hume informs us that William alone had made an appeal to his tribunal, and rendered him umpire in the dispute between him and Harold.

England, too, "*maintained still a considerable independence in its ecclesiastical administration*, and forming a world within itself entirely separated from the rest of Europe, it had *hitherto proved inaccessible to those exorbitant claims which supported the grandeur of the papacy.* Alexander therefore hoped that the French and Norman barons, if successful in their enterprise, might import into that country a more devoted reverence for the Holy See, and bring the English churches to a nearer conformity with those of the continent. He declared himself immediately in favor of William's claim, pronounced Harold a perjured usurper, and denounced excommunication against him and his adherents." [1]

After the battle of Hastings the papal bull was useful in effecting the submission of the clergy, and the subjection of the people. William sent to Rome the royal banner of Harold, received the first legate from the pope, and made Lanfranc, a Milanese monk, archbishop of Canterbury.[2] The exertions of Lanfranc increased the influence of Rome in England, where the insular position of the kingdom favored its progress, and where it was less checked by knowledge and liberal education than in other kingdoms of Europe.

Hildebrand became pope during the reign of William, and consolidated the papal power. Excited by the success of William, by the growth of his temporal power, by the reverence inspired by the forged decretals, by the rank of universal bishop, and the

[1] See Hume's History of England, Vol. I. Title Harold.

[2] Lanfranc wrote in defence of the real presence, against Berengarius, and in those ages of ignorance he was much applauded for the performance. — *Hume*, Vol. I. Title, William the Conqueror.

overthrow of the power of the Eastern emperors in Italy, he coined the arrogant language of Boniface into maxims for the papacy. These, with the flattering words of Thomas Aquinas,[1] the chief of the schoolmen, have been adopted as guides by his successors. He was the first to raise the priest's lance against the royal diadem, and to demand submission of kings and emperors. Indomitable by nature, and elated by success, restrained by no respect for human rights, he stands preëminent for his pretensions and his actual power in the long line of Roman pontiffs.

What are the nature and extent of the power thus usurped by the imperious Hildebrand, and transmitted to his successors? The leading authorities of the Church of Rome, Thomas Aquinas, Bellarmine, and Baronius define this power, and I shall refer to them, as Roman Catholic authorities, for its extent and nature. The astute Aquinas affirms "that the pope, as supreme king of all the world, may impose taxes on all Christians, and destroy cities and castles to preserve Christianity."

He adds, "That the pope is at the summit of both powers, and when any one is denounced as excommunicated for apostasy, his subjects are immediately freed from his dominion and their oath of allegiance to him."[2]

The learned Bellarmine declares it to be the common opinion of Roman Catholics "that the pope, by

[1] Thomas Aquinas, a favorite author of the Romanists, undertakes to show in his work against the Greeks "that it is *necessary* for salvation to submit to the Roman pontiff."

[2] Bell. V. 1–5; Thomas, II. Secund. ques. 12, art. 2.

reason of his spiritual power, has, at least indirectly, a *supreme power* even in temporal affairs."[1]

Baronius, the historian of the pontificate, assures us that "the civil principality is undoubtedly subject to the sacerdotal, and that God has subjected the political government to the dominion of the spiritual church,"[2] and again, "they are all branded as heretics who take from the Church of Rome and See of St. Peter, one of the two swords, and allow only the spiritual."[3]

It has been urged by some modern writers that the Church of Rome has renounced some of the powers assumed by Hildebrand and his successors; but we have no evidence of such relinquishment. What council or pope have made such admission or confirmed such statement? No such admission or assertion of any individual can be received as evidence in the face of pontifical acts, unless "it is delivered *ex cathedrâ*, and bears the seal of the fisherman's ring."[4]

If in modern times the Roman pontiff less frequently exercises in a direct manner his dominion in temporal affairs, we may safely infer it is because the fitting hour has not yet arrived, or because he prefers for the time to follow the doctrine of Bellarmine, and to effect indirectly and by the spiritual sword great political results. But in the days of William the

[1] Bell. V. 1.

[2] Baronius, anno 57, § 23, 53.

[3] Baronius, anno 1053, § 14, Haeresi. Politic. anno 1073, § 13.

[4] I quote from an able article in the North American Review, for January, 1856, to which I am indebted for some valuable facts and suggestions, as these letters are going to the press.

Conqueror the papal power was in the ascendant, the minds of men steeped in ignorance and superstition, and debased by civil and religious usurpation. Hildebrand was neither fastidious nor easily alarmed. He summoned Henry, the emperor of Germany, before him to justify his conduct.

The emperor deposed the pope, and the pope deposed the emperor and absolved his subjects from their allegiance. The result was a civil war. At length the emperor was obliged to ask forgiveness of Hildebrand.

For three days in January he was compelled to wait fasting, clothed in sackcloth, and with naked feet, in the ante-room, before he could be allowed to kiss the feet of the pontiff.

The successors of Hildebrand adopted his maxims for their guidance, and for eight centuries have insisted upon their prerogative.

A. D.	1099	Pope	Paschal II.	deposed	Henry IV.,	Emperor	of	Germany.
"	1218	"	Innocent III.	"	Otho IV.,	"	"	"
"	1345	"	" IV.	"	Frederic II.,	"	"	"
"	1346	"	Clement VI.	"	Lewis IV.,	"	"	"
"	1546	"	Paul III.	"	The Elector of Cologne.			
"	1570	"	Pius V.	"	Elizabeth, Queen of England.			
"	1588	"	Sixtus V.	"	Henry, King of Navarre.			
"	"	"	"	"	The Prince of Conde.			

Let me add, that as late as A. D. 1809, the pope issued his anathema against the emperor Napoleon, and virtually, if not expressly, absolved all his subjects from their allegiance.

Did not the pope also, A. D. 1794, reprobate and condemn the acts of the ex parte Council of Pistoia, which approved a declaration of the French clergy, that the pope had not power to depose kings or ab-

solve subjects from their allegiance, thus by necessary implication claiming this power; and later, in 1851, anathematize a book written in Peru to refute the doctrine that he who governs in spiritual things governs also in temporal?

"And even later, in July last, the government of Sardinia having passed a law, as the pope recites, to suppress almost all monastic and religious communities, collegiate churches, etc., and to hand over their revenues and property to the free disposition of the civil power, he declared this law to be null and void, and excommunicated the king and *parliament* which passed it.

"Moreover, the government of Spain having, as the pope again recites, in the same month of July, passed a law ordering the sale of church property, and issued various decrees, forbidding bishops to confer holy orders, he, in virtue of his apostolic authority, abrogated, and declared null and void the law and decree aforesaid.

"Though the papal hierarchy has renounced none of its pretensions, a great change has taken place in many parts of the Christian world, and this change has doubtless proved a restraint on its conduct. It has exercised less frequently the powers which it once exercised often. Its thunder has not been so frequent or so loud. Well remembering that its power has had alternate periods of decline and restoration, it waits, and waits patiently, taking care not to excite alarm, for the time when the thunder of the Vatican shall be again efficient, not only to terrify the ignorant and credulous, but to rally under its banner the selfish, ambitious, and sceptical. That it is a politi-

cal, as well as a religious party, its whole career gives manifest and forcible testimony."[1]

It has been urged by some followers of the Church of Rome, that the Reformation checked the revival of letters, and retarded the march of intellect. It is doubtless true, that before the dawn of the Reformation, the discovery of printing had given an impulse to mind, and the capture of Constantinople had enriched Italy with scholars and manuscripts of the classics. It is true, also, that while Italy was depressed by the debasing sensuality of Alexander VI., or excited by the wars of Julius III., art had ministered to luxury, and embellished Rome with some of its palaces and galleries, and that the court of Leo X. favored painting and poetry, while the ministers of religion, faithless to their God, made its mysteries a subject of derision, and the lower classes were enchained in heathen superstition.

The brief encouragement given to art and letters in these periods of vice and infidelity, stand out, however, in bold relief in the history of the Roman Hierarchy, and the traveller may well ask, where are the millions buried, which, for more than ten centuries have been wrung by the See of Rome from ignorance and superstition throughout Christendom? The Romish hierarchy, down to the days of Luther, had done little or nothing for the advance of science, and since that period, in the fairest provinces of Europe and America, in Italy, Austria, Spain, and Portugal, and in Mexico, Chili, La Plata, Brazil, Peru, and Lower Canada have paralyzed the growth of knowledge, freedom, and the arts of life. Not content with

[1] See North American Review for January, 1856, p. 124.

establishing the Jesuits to control the sources of knowledge and the secrets of the heart, by grasping the schools, colleges, and confessional, they have, since the discovery of printing, closed another access to the mind, by decreeing that no book shall be published, or read, under penalty of fine and excommunication, until its approval by the Inquisition. And their minister, the Inquisition, has placed its seal of condemnation on not less than seven thousand volumes, including the works of Locke, Milton, and Bacon, and the Holy Scriptures. It has further decreed, that any who shall read the last without permission of a priest, shall "be incapable of receiving remission of sins," and incur besides, in some countries, a temporal punishment.

I have alluded to that mysterious engine of the Roman Hierarchy, the Inquisition, in using which they have combined the spiritual and temporal power, dooming those suspected of *spiritual errors*, I might say of *spiritual truth*, to wearisome imprisonment, excruciating torture, an unfair trial, to death by the fagot and the stake, and finally, to a confiscation of property to their persecutors, accompanied by infamy for their posterity.

It is the only stigma that rests on the reign of the Spanish queen, Isabella, that she established a local Inquisition, to prevent the relapse of the converted Jews and Moriscos. But the general Inquisition did not originate in Spain; it was organized by the sovereign pontiff himself, to prevent the reformation of religion. When the doctrines of Luther had pervaded[1]

[1] Ranke's History of the Popes, I. p. 136.

Germany, and, passing the Alps, reached even Rome; when a powerful party was formed in Rome itself, to reform the church, some of whose prelates favored reformation at the council of Trent Pope Paul IV., alarmed by the progress of events, called to his council the cardinals Caraffa and Toledo, stern old Dominicans, and asked them to propose a remedy. As the old Inquisition had fallen into decay, they advised the pope to establish the general Inquisition, as a remedy for the evils he deprecated. The Jesuits account it one of the *glories* of their order, that Loyola, their founder, supported the proposition by an elaborate memorial. The advice thus given and sustained was accepted, and July 21, A. D. 1542, Paul IV. issued his brief for a supreme tribunal of the Inquisition, universal in its jurisdiction, and on which all others should depend. By this edict six cardinals were made inquisitors, with authority to delegate their power. The tribunal was placed above all civil power. Princes, prelates, and all other ranks of life, were alike subjected to its authority. It was directed to *suppress* and *uproot* the errors that have found place in Christendom, permitting no vestige of them to remain, and by the terms of the brief, it was required to imprison the suspected, and punish the guilty, both by death and confiscation; and no prince or potentate except the pope, was permitted to absolve from its sentence.

Thus were the lives and fortunes of all Christendom placed at the disposal of the Romish Hierarchy, and at the mercy of spies and informers.

The first movement of the Inquisition was to

prosecute every member of the priesthood at Rome who favored reform. The most prominent were imprisoned, driven into exile, executed, or compelled to retract. Many of the Franciscans were obliged to recant, books favoring reform, together with the Holy Scriptures, were prohibited, a dead weight placed on the minds of Christians, and all reform within the church itself was carefully suppressed.

I will not trace the progress of the Inquisition through the different States of Europe. Wherever it was planted, it effectually checked the progress of letters and of science; and death and desolation marked its steps. Authentic records show that in Spain alone, more than three hundred thousand victims were either burnt at the stake, or sentenced to loathsome dungeons or the galleys.

The testimony was taken in secret, the suspected were not confronted with the accuser, the prisoner was not allowed to see the charge preferred, or permitted to communicate with counsel, and tortures were applied to aid conviction.

Fear fell upon the people, and in western Europe, peasants, gentry, and nobles hastened to enroll themselves as soldiers of the Inquisition.

At length human nature could endure no more. The people rose; the prisons and tribunals of the institution were generally overthrown, although the Roman inquisitor still conducts his trials in the dungeons of the Vatican.

The Romish Hierarchy have not yet introduced the Inquisition into these United States; but they pursue here the maxims of Bellarmine, and by means of their *spiritual* authority, exert *indirectly* a

mighty power over temporal affairs. Even without the Inquisition, there still may be tyranny which can effectually reach the person and property, through the medium of the mind. The torture may be applied directly to the spirit, and thus indirectly control the person and property quite as successfully as the civil power.

By the speech of J. O. Putnam of Buffalo, delivered last winter in the senate of New York, we learn that the council of Roman Catholic bishops, convened at Baltimore, A. D. 1849, decreed that "all churches, and all other ecclesiastical property, which has been acquired by donation, or offerings of the faithful for religious or charitable use, *belong to the bishop of the diocese;* unless it shall be made to appear, and be confirmed by writings, that it was granted to some religious order of monks, or to some congregation of priests, for their use." This claim, under which churches are to be wrested from the men who built them for their own use, and the funds of charitable institutions confided to individuals for objects of benevolence, are to be torn from trustees selected by the donors, and engrossed by bishops obedient to the voice of Rome, instead of the demands of an enlightened benevolence, is nearly as bold an usurpation as the acts of Hildebrand, in the eleventh century.

What right has the Roman pontiff, an alien in a foreign land, fettered by a narrow faith, by intolerance and pride, to grasp at millions, and bind those millions in perpetual mortmain, to be held in obedience to the single voice of a foreign potentate?

It appears, however, that he has succeeded; that he wields a power over temporal affairs which has coerced submission; which, throughout this vast Union, has subjected to him such power and wealth as no Girard or Astor has ever held, at least one million in Erie, a remote county of New York, and untold millions in nearly a thousand other counties of the Union.

We learn from the speech of Mr. Putnam, that most of the proprietors and trustees have obeyed the bishops, but that one set of trustees, those of the church of St. Louis, at Buffalo, had the courage to resist their oppressive edict, and dared to brave the danger which impended, overcoming the fear which led others to submission. They would not yield even to the nuncio, Bedini, sent by the Roman pontiff to convince them. But what was the result?

"For simply refusing," as they state in their petition to the legislature, "to violate the trust law of our State, we have been subjected to the forms of excommunication, and our names held up to infamy and reproach. For this cause, too, have the whole congregation been placed under ban. To our members, the holy rites of baptism and of burial have been denied. The marriage sacrament has been refused. The priest is forbidden to minister at our altars. In sickness and at the hour of death, the holy consolations of religion are withheld. To the Catholic churchman, it is scarcely possible to exaggerate the magnitude of such deprivations."

Does not such coercion, whether it be spiritual or temporal, call for the intervention of the State? Are not the rights of property and of conscience to

be protected by the civil power, or is it the policy of our States to suffer churches, schools, orphan asylums, or trust funds to expand by the bequests of protestants and the contributions of the illiterate poor, and then allow a foreign colossal power, alien to our institutions and policy, which has sworn its agents to persecute nine tenths of us as heretics, to usurp and wield for ever with one will, an amount of power and of property, to which no other millionaire in America has ever risen or aspired, and before which his accumulated millions sink into insignificance?[1]

[1] The avidity of the Romish Hierarchy for power and wealth is illustrated in the history of the Council of Trent, by Paulo Sarpi Veneto, published in 1620. By reference to page 460, it appears that before the Council had finished its sessions, the pope was urged by France to grant the communion of the cup. This subject, with the marriage of the priests and the use of the vulgar tongue in the services of the church, was discussed in a Consistory held by the pope, A. D. 1561. In the Consistory, Cardinal Pio di Carpi opposed all these measures, and urged that "the grant of the cup *would open a gate to demand an abrogation of all positive constitutions, by which only the prerogative given by Christ to the Church of Rome, is preserved for by those which are 'de jure divino,' no profit doth accrue* but that which is spiritual." "*From the use of the vulgar tongue in the service*, the inconvenience would follow, that all would think themselves divine," *the authority of prelates would be disesteemed*, and all would become heretics." *From the marriage of priests it would ensue*, "that having house, wife, and children, *they will not depend on the pope*, but on their prince, and their love of their children will make them yield to any prejudice of the church. *They will seek to make their benefices hereditary, and so in short space the authority of the apostolic see, will be confined within Rome. Before single life was instituted, the See of Rome received no profit from*

If England, in ancient times, was obliged to forbid the payment of Peter Pence, to make excommunication penal, and to sequestrate the property of the church, when Lord Hardwicke tells us it had absorbed more than half of England; if France, Spain, and Sardinia have been obliged to confiscate and sell the estates of the Romish Hierarchy; if both the Roman and British empires have been obliged, by the avidity of the Church of Rome, to pass statutes of mortmain; may not America derive some light from their example? may she not prohibit by law any individual, whether alien or native, to hold more than a single church, or single trust fund to be limited to a specific sum? May she not provide that on the death of bishops, or in their lifetime, the churches they hold in trust, and for which they have paid no consideration, shall be transferred to trustees for the societies who built them and use them for public worship; that trusts for charities shall be resigned by the Roman pontiff and his servants to public boards of trustees, acting under the direction of the State; and that all interdicts from the pope be forbidden and nullified by law, and that

other nations and cities, and by it is made patron of many benefices of which marriage would quickly deprive her."

Convinced by these and other reasons, the pope refused the request of France.

We further learn from this history, that the pope having through the Jesuits, and his legates and bishops, the control of the Council of Trent, and the sole power of originating measures, prevented the reformation of the church, in these and other particulars, and subsequently rewarded with rich benefices the bishops most useful to him in the Council.

such anathemas, when issued by priests or bishops, shall subject them to penal law, except in cases of moral turpitude of church-members?

Should the thunders of the Vatican have voice or echo on these shores? And in States whose constitutions secure "to every religious society the exclusive right of electing their own teachers," and the right of worshipping God according to the dictates of conscience, should a foreign prince or prelate be allowed to turn both pastor and people out of doors, unless they conform their faith and their worship to his direction?[1] Would not remissness on these points tend to perpetuate and increase among us a population, whose volitions would not be their own, and who would check also the progress of their fellow-citizens; and are not our Roman Catholics also as well entitled to the protection of law, as the protestant himself?

These are questions which demand the study of our statesmen.

Yours, truly and affectionately.

[1] For effects and tendency of papacy, see extract from Barrow, Appendix, p. 269.

LETTER XX.

LYNN BEACH, Nov. 7, 1855.

DEAR S...:— In my preceding letters, I have questioned the supremacy of the Church of Rome, shown its departure from the worship of the early Christians, traced its rites and ceremonies to paganism, pointed out the successive changes it has adopted both in faith and doctrine, portrayed the character of its zealous allies the Jesuits, and proved by their admissions that it is gradually substituting the worship of the Virgin for the adoration of the Deity.

The question then recurs, what vestiges do remain of the apostolic church; what evidence do we possess of its rules, faith, and worship, and how far have the reformed churches in general, and the Episcopal Church in particular, conformed to the same? The inquiry is deeply interesting; and, to use the words of Bunsen, one of the latest and ablest writers on this subject, "what true and reflecting Christian is there, who can be indifferent to learn how in the first centuries, the apostolic men understood the letter of the gospel, and how they undertook to realize the message of salvation in doctrine, worship, faith, and life? Here is the commencement of the church; here is the apostolic realization of the Bible."[1] And it is pleasant

[1] Bunsen's Hippolytus.

to recur with this great minister of Prussia to the memorials of that primitive church he has so vividly pictured in his treatise; a work published by a Prussian in our own language, a noble tribute from a foreign scholar and statesman to the cause of Christianity. He adduces proofs that there were in the first two centuries, rules and forms derived from apostolic times reduced at an early day to writing, and revered next after the Scriptures as the canons of the church and the rules of worship. Clement, the friend of St. Paul and contemporary of St. John, refers to them in his letter to the Corinthians; Irenæus, the pupil of Polycarp, alludes to the sacred ordinances of the apostles. Hippolytus, or the work ascribed to him, composed early in the third century, recurs to the ecclesiastical rules. St. Augustine, St. Jerome, and St. Athanasius in the fourth century, and Eusebius and Epiphanius in a succeeding century, refer to or cite from these canons, and St. Chrysostom gives copious extracts. At least sixty ancient manuscripts, in different languages found in Greek, Syrian, Coptic, Abyssinian, and Nestorian churches are still extant, and contain these ordinances. They were preserved in the great churches of Antioch, Alexandria, and Jerusalem, and in others which separated from the mother church in the fifth century, as living, practical rules. They agree in many particulars, and in most essentials, and the learned Chevalier, by expunging those features in which they differ, has restored them nearly to their original shape, and exhibits to us in their renovated form, —

1st. The system of instruction.

2d. The canons of church government.

3d. The order of worship.[1]

4th. The rules for private life in the primitive church.

These strengthen our argument when we discover that they are in direct contradiction to the forms, worship, and canons of the Church of Rome. Let us, then, in the words of our author, "Instead of looking to mediæval forms, and to the enchanted gardens of Rome, or to the fanaticism of superstition for our canons, glance at the mirror which the church book and house book of the apostolic age hold up to us. We see in them the Christian school, the Christian worship, and the Christian life, the model of every thing great and noble, which has sprung up in renewed youth and beauty out of the tomb of the old world, and renovated the face of the earth."

"Whoever," he adds, "idolizes the letter of Byzantine Christianity, and the system of mediæval divinity, breaks with the church of the apostles, forfeits the spirit of Christ, and falls out of that very communion with the ancient believers which he pretends to cherish. Whoever seeks the conservative element in the restoration of sacerdotal dominion over the conscience, and of priest-rule over national government, proposes not only great political revolutions, but the entire downfall of the Hierarchy.

"Those who have sown superstition, have reaped and are reaping unbelief, and those who have sowed despotism, have reaped anarchy."

Let us examine, then, those books of the ancient

[1] For these books, see Appendix, p. 193.

church, and see if we can find in them those features which are prominent in the Church of Rome. Let us look into its catechism to learn if he who joins it is to swear obedience to a pope, or if the ancient church recognizes any supreme or infallible pontiff. Let us inspect the ritual, and find what adoration is prescribed for the Virgin Mary; what homage is to be paid to saints, statues, or images; what waxen candles are to be lighted, and what incense is to be burned, or holy water sprinkled. Let us inquire for the sacrifice of the Mass, and the withholding the cup from the people. Let us criticize the canons of the church, and find which of them confers the triple crown or the civic sword upon pope or bishop, or provides for the celibacy of the clergy. Let us study the rules for private life, and discover which of them empowers the Christian to deceive, to calumniate, or to kill.

The spirit of inquiry is dispersing the phantoms which have started up between us and the early fathers, darkening that primitive age, and we can now pierce the gloom, place ourselves beside them, and test the bold pretensions of the Church of Rome.

The first book of the primitive church, restored by Bunsen, contains the whole system of instruction. It provides that candidates for admission into the church shall be taught for three years the "Way of Life," namely, the precepts of our Saviour, the truth of Holy Writ, with purity, meekness, justice, and charity, and before baptism they shall be examined to learn if they have lived in purity, visited the sick, and performed every good work.

When baptized, they shall be dipped thrice in

the water, after renouncing Satan and all his works, and giving their assent to a brief creed, in which they recognize the only true God, his Son, our Lord and Saviour, born of the Virgin Mary, who was crucified, and died for our redemption, ascended into heaven, whence he shall come to judge the living and the dead; and, after expressing their belief in the Holy Spirit, the quickener that purifieth the church, they were then to be anointed with oil, sealed upon the forehead, and to receive the communion of *both bread and wine*, and become members of the church.

The second book, restored by Bunsen, contains the canons of the ancient church.

It recognizes the several offices of bishops, presbyters, readers, deacons, and deaconesses, and defines their duties, qualifications, and appointment, and permits a *married man* to become a *bishop*.

The third book defines the order and formalities of the service or the Christian sacrifice and worship of the ancient church.

It comprehends the liturgy or general order of the service, in two parts.

1st. A preparatory service for the hearers who have not yet taken the pledge, and do not belong to the communion of the believers: — A psalm or canticle; a Christian hymn; lessons from the Old and New Testaments; a homily; dismissal of the hearers, and blessing.

2d. The service of believers: — the oblation; salutation; preface; prayers; communion of all believers present, taken both in the bread and the cup; the cherubic hymn; a psalm from Isaiah; the hymn

of thanksgiving; exhortations and admonitions to the congregation; dismissal and blessing.

And few early manuscripts of the liturgy are in the Latin language so uniformly adopted by the Church of Rome.

In all this ritual there is not the slightest allusion to the pomp and ceremonies of the Church of Rome, or to her innovation of the Mass.

The fourth book, restored by Bunsen, contains the rules of general conduct for all the members of the congregation.

This enjoins upon members to fast in the holy week; to keep the Lord's day as a festival; regulates private and public devotions, the allowance of time to servants, and the arrangement of funerals and cemeteries. It particularly enjoins, also, the reading of the Scriptures.

The last work revised by our learned author, is the law-book of the ancient church, containing the canons of the apostles.

These define the rights and duties of bishops, and the offices which warrant the suspension or deprivation of the clergy. They determine also the canonical books of the Old and New Testaments, and the ecclesiastical rules and canons. This book, which forbids the clergy to embark in secular affairs, or to put aside their wives, is directly at variance with the practice of the Jesuits and the celibacy of the Roman priesthood.

These holy books stand out in bold relief against the instruction, worship, and canons of the Church of Rome; but this is not their only value, for they bring before us in many of their details, the instruction

and worship of our Episcopal church. In the lapse of time it has doubtless diverged in some respects from primitive forms, and it may not have entirely removed the accretions of the dark ages, but, in its form of government, in its noble liturgy, in its full communion and established forms, it preserves the features of primitive Christianity. The great minister of Prussia, himself a Lutheran, speaks of our liturgy as dignified throughout, notices the English prayerbook as a "national institution," and pronounces it the most important of all Christian ordinances since the Reformation. "It was," he tells us, "a great and blessed thought, this placing in the hands of a Christian nation, a book impressing evangelic truth, not by abstract theological formalities, but by an act of worship and edification, and in language intelligible to the congregation; such a book alone was capable of becoming a church and house book, and such it has become. It is in itself as valuable as the text-book of the ancient church, the fragments of which we have endeavored to restore, and in many points infinitely superior." While, however, he bears such testimony in its favor, he would have it further improved. He would have it more free, and to breathe more faith in the Christian spirit, which inspires the praying or teaching speaker. Let me conclude this letter with another extract from that noble writer, who appreciates so well the liturgy and ordinances of our church, but whose views of Christianity are not bounded by any forms or rituals, and who has faith in human progress. To use his words: —

"The great work of Christianity is not a Hierarchy

with her rich rituals and scholastic art and conventional science; its miracle is the world in which we live. It is the individual standing before his God, with his Bible and his self-responsible conscience, whether man or woman, layman or clerk. It is the Christian household, founded on mutual trust. It is the congregation, with its own shepherd and his pattern household. It is the Christian municipality, governing itself by the self-government and mutual confidence which are its members. It is the Christian nation and State, with her national schools, based upon the gospel of the persecuted church; with her universities expanding in the Christian philosophy founded by the martyrs; with her national hospitals, grown out of the nurseries of the deaconesses of old; and with her poor-laws, consecrating Christian support as a national debt; finally, with her sovereignty of law, and with her religious and civil liberty, advancing by reform, and not by revolution. Where that work and that faith in its divine power live, there is apostolicity, and there is the future of the world."

Yours, truly and affectionately.

LETTER XXI.

BOSTON, November 20, 1855.

I CANNOT close this correspondence without recurring to the letter, in which you advanced the proposition that "the Church of Rome is the only Catholic church; the only apostolic and primitive church; the only church which has preserved its unity; the only church which has not varied one iota in its faith from the time of the apostles." And to the subsequent proposition, sent to you by a Roman Catholic bishop, substantially as follows, namely: "That our Saviour must have established a church sufficient to perpetuate his religion, and consequently that system must be false which assumes the insufficiency of his church."

I felt it my duty to refute your first proposition, before I dealt with the last. For if I could prove that the Church of Rome was neither universal, apostolic, or primitive, that it had not preserved its unity, and had swerved from its original faith and worship, I could restate the bishop's proposition, and safely ask you to infer that our Saviour would never employ a church to perpetuate his religion which was neither primitive, catholic, apostolic, or united. And that consequently the Church of Rome is not the true church of our Saviour.

The proposition of the bishop, however, deserves

a few comments. It is clearly unsound, but is a fair specimen of the casuistry of the Church of Rome. It assumes, for instance, the purpose and action of our Saviour, an assumption manifestly unsafe, since they are beyond the scope of human vision. It assumes that our Saviour intrusted his religion to an association of frail, perishing men, assembled to worship the deity, instead of selecting his chosen apostles to make the record and transmit that record to posterity. It assumes that mortal men are more competent than records, or Holy Writ itself, to perpetuate religion. It assumes, finally, without proof, that the Church of Rome is the Primitive Catholic Church established by our Saviour.

The Scriptures, and the history of religion, prove the frailty of men in every age. The Jews, the chosen people of God, were faithless to the Deity, and bowed down before idols and strange gods. Even sovereign pontiffs have been proved to be apostates and libertines. The Church of Rome itself has been shown to be a different church from the church of our Saviour. The proposition, consequently, falls beneath the weight of its own assumptions. I will detain you no further with such fallacies as this, but recur to our testimony.

I have arrayed before you masses of evidence, to test the pretensions of the Church of Rome, and that evidence is nearly all Catholic. It comes principally from the saints that Rome has canonized. Let us apply that evidence to the claims you present, and ask an impartial verdict. And let us be guided in the application by the rule of Tertullian already cited, namely: "That only is authentic and genuine

which was first delivered, while that is false and extraneous which was last introduced."

Is, then, the Church of Rome the universal Catholic Church? Has it pervaded the world? Does it pervade Asia, Africa, and Northern Europe, or the ancient seats of Christianity, where it wore its primitive garb, so different from the vesture of modern Rome?

Our evidence gives to this an emphatic negative. Asia and Africa have either been subdued by Mahomet, relapsed into heathenism, or, if the light of the gospel shines upon them at all, it is either through the Greek Church or the Protestant missionaries, who are colonizing the coasts of India, Asia Minor, China, and Africa.

The protestant faith pervades the North, and it is the protestant faith which is now pervading the world. The Anglo-Saxon race, which sustained the great reformation of Luther, that race of northern Europe, which, in union with the Swede, met and resisted the tide of counter reformation, and repelled the Inquisition and the Jesuit from its shores, is now in the ascendant. The Anglo-Saxon race, numbering less than six millions of protestants in the days of Queen Elizabeth, now comprise at least fifty-seven millions of protestants in Europe, Australia, and America, and in half a century bid fair to treble their numbers. While the nations subject to the influence of Rome, namely, Spain, France, Austria, Italy, and Portugal, are comparatively stationary, or receding, the Anglo-Saxon race, trebling their numbers in each half century, possess ten million tons of shipping, or four fifths the ships of the globe, control the commerce of the earth, and are diffusing their language,

their arts, their power, and their religion through the world. They are found alike beneath the torrid zone and on the shores of polar seas.

They are civilizing and reclaiming the wilderness in America and Australia, and already stand at the doors of China and Japan.

Unless the Church of Rome can arrest their progress, the protestant faith will pervade the world. As the religion of our Saviour followed the language and commerce of Greece through the civilized world, thus in modern days the protestant faith follows the path of the Anglo-Saxon, wherever his sails whiten the ocean.

The Church of Rome neither has been, is, or will be universal; it cannot, therefore, be the catholic church.

But if it is not catholic, how far is it primitive?

We find in the records of the primitive church which we have recovered, conclusive proof that the Scriptures, and the bread and the wine, were accessible to the laity. We look in vain in these records, and in the writings of the earliest saints, for the worship of virgins or saints, statues or pictures; for sacred groves and oratories; for shrines, relics, or rosaries; for processions, candles, or holy water; for tiaras, crosiers, or triple crowns; for inquisitors, tortures, or *autos da fe*. If the Church of Rome, as we have proved, has sanctioned these innovations, do they not disprove its claim to be the primitive church?

And can that church be apostolic which clothes its bishops with secular power, which associates with itself the Jesuit or the Inquisitor, which sends forth

the one to close the Bible to the laity, to distribute tracts in honor of the Virgin, to ascribe supremacy and infallibility to the pope, to grant indulgences to vice, to proclaim the startling doctrine that the end sanctions the means, to urge that it is lawful to kill or depose monarchs who exalt the Scriptures above the pope, or to bear false witness against their neighbors; and which has sent forth the other to stifle free inquiry, to forbid the exercise of private judgment, to prohibit reform, and to doom men, women, and children to the dungeon and the stake, or to a fate still more appalling, without allowing them the privilege of meeting their accusers face to face in fair and open trial?

Can such a church be apostolic?

The gospels, the epistles, the acts of the apostles, the earliest records of the church, sanction no such mission, but present one directly antagonistic.

The Church of Rome is by the proof not apostolic. Has she, then, been always united, and has she never swerved from the faith since the days of the apostles? Let us try her by the evidence. We find her at one period denying the real presence by the mouth of her sovereign pontiff, at another making transubstantiation, or the real presence, an article of faith; at one time she sanctions the Arian, at another the Athanasian creed.

At one epoch she canonizes the Calvinistic Augustine, at another denounces Luther and Calvin. At one time she recognizes neither purgatory, monasticism, the mass, the celibacy of the clergy, incense, holy water, homage to images, or the worship of the Virgin, or oaths of obedience to the pope;

at others, she insists upon each one of them as essential.

Estranging herself alike in garb, insignia, worship, and faith from the ancient church, the Greek church, the Maronites, Nestorians, and Protestants, she claims she has been ever united.

The proof fails to establish either unity, or unfaltering fidelity to her faith.

May we not then infer, as a necessary consequence, that an omniscient Deity would not select a church to perpetuate his religion, which is neither primitive, catholic, apostolic, or united, or true to its original faith?

It is doubtless unsafe for frail man to argue upon the intentions of the Deity; but, so far as evidence exists of those intentions, it is subversive of the claims of Rome.

Far be it from me, in these letters, to proceed one tittle beyond the evidence necessary to try the exclusive claims and pretensions of the Church of Rome. While I deplore her departure from the primitive church, I would cheerfully accord to her members the right to differ from our church, and full freedom to worship according to the dictates of their consciences. I would concede, too, the piety and moral excellence of many of her members, who have yielded up their judgment to the Church of Rome.

Erasmus, Bossuet, Fenelon, Cheverus, are names I delight to honor. I can bear personal testimony, also, to the devotion and piety of inmates of convents, to the bounteous charities and religious feelings of many pious Roman Catholics; but when their

church is presented as the only primitive Catholic church, the sole depository and exponent of the gospel, out of whose pale there is no salvation; when the Jesuit seeks to control our education, and to bend towards Rome the ductile minds of the young; when vast power, influence, and possessions are accumulating in the hands of bishops, to be wielded by the pope or Jesuits of Rome; when our private circles are invaded in the search for proselytes, it seems to me time to question the pretensions of Rome.

True it is, that our census proves that the Roman Catholics were, in 1850, less than one twentieth part of the worshippers in our favored land. True it is that the foreigners, as they mingle with our Protestants, gradually modify their opinions, and begin to exercise the right of private judgment, that privilege so dear to the Anglo-Saxon; but still we must remember that vast masses of Roman Catholics annually land upon our shores, cluster around the cities and villages of the northern States, and form a large and growing element in our population; that they have been reared in blind submission to their priests, and debarred in most cases from education, by an unwise and oppressive government at home; and that it is the mission of our country in the present century to refine and civilize these exiles from Europe.

Let it also be her mission at the same time, to guard our institutions from deterioration. While our country performs its Christian office of kindness and philanthropy, there are duties which it owes to itself, — to illumine and elevate the masses who are to rule its destinies; to deny access to the ballot-box, until the

voter has at least learned to read and to write, has familiarized himself with our institutions, and knows how to appreciate their value.

The voters are our rulers, and those rulers must be enlightened, if we would preserve our liberties. It is the duty, too, of our country to allow no accumulation of power in the hands of individuals responsible only to a foreign potentate. Why should a bishop of New England be permitted to withdraw more than fifty churches from the humble artisan or menial who built them, and hand them down in rigid mortmain to his successors? Why should he be allowed the privilege of closing the doors of such churches on the societies who built them? Is his power to accumulate to know no limit to its expansion, and no restraint upon its exercise, except the pleasure of a foreign potentate?

If laws against mortmain were necessary in the fourth century, in the days of Damasus, who had no army of Jesuits to execute his plans, may they not be necessary when we see that order invading our shores, aiming as of yore to control the education both of rich and poor, and to attract the public mind by stately churches and cathedrals, by superior music and imposing ceremonies?

Why should not the civil law secure to each society their church, the choice of their clergyman, and the power to modify their opinions with the progress of light, without the forfeiture of their property? Again; if nunneries or convents have no sanction in Scripture, and have in the history of Europe proved adverse to the progress of nations in virtue, knowledge, and power, why should not the law discounte-

nance their erection, and refuse its sanction to all vows and contracts for celibacy and seclusion?

While I would protect convents and nunneries from lawless violence, scrupulously guard the rights of property, defend all institutions for learning, and respect the Roman Catholic hospital, infirmary, and asylum; while I would contend for the utmost liberty of all denominations of Christians to worship according to the dictates of their consciences, I conceive it to be the most sacred duty of our country to watch with jealous care our public schools and seminaries, sustained by public funds, and prevent their perversion, or the application of these funds, or any part of them, to institutions sectarian in their character. With respect to religion, as well as with respect to politics, the price of freedom must be perpetual vigilance.

Yours, truly and affectionately.

APPENDIX.

CHURCH BOOKS OF THE APOSTOLIC CHURCH, AS RESTORED BY BUNSEN.

BOOK I.

I. *How they who require to be instructed are to be examined before they are admitted.*

THOSE that first come to the mystery of godliness, let them be brought to the bishop, or to the presbyters, [by the deacons,] and let them be examined as to the causes wherefore they come to the Word of the Lord: and let those who bring them exactly inquire about their character, and give them their testimony. Let their manners and their life be inquired into; and whether they be slaves or freemen: and if any one be a slave, let him be asked who is his master. If he be a slave to one of the believers, let his master be asked if he can give him a good character. If he cannot, let him be rejected until he show himself to be worthy to his master: but if he does give him a good character, let him be admitted. But if he be a slave to a heathen, let him be taught to please his master, that the word be not blasphemed. If then he have a wife, or a woman hath a husband, let them be taught to be content with each other, and to live soberly; but if they be unmarried, let them learn not to commit fornication, but

to enter into lawful marriage; but if his master be one of the faithful, and knows that he is guilty of fornication, and yet does not give him a wife, or to the woman an husband, let him be separated.

But if any hath a demon, let him be taught godliness, but not received into communion before he be cleansed; yet if death be near, let him be received.

If any one be a maintainer of harlots, let him either leave off to prostitute women, or else let him be rejected.

If a whore come, let her leave off her whoredom, or else let her be rejected.

If a maker of idols come, let him either leave off his employment, or let him be rejected.

If one belonging to the theatre come, whether it be man or woman, or a charioteer, or a fighter in single combat, or a racer, or an exhibitor of a show of gladiators, or an Olympic gamester, or one that plays on the flute or on the lute at these games, or a dancing-master, or a keeper of a public-house, either let them leave off their employments, or let them be rejected.

If a soldier come, let him be taught to do no injustice, to accuse no man falsely, and to be content with his allotted stipend; if he submit to these rules, let him be received, but if he refuse them, let him be rejected.

He that is guilty of sins not to be named, a sodomite, an effeminate person, a magician, an enchanter, an astrologer, a diviner, an user of magic verses, a juggler, a mountebank, one that makes amulets, a charmer, a soothsayer, a fortune-teller, an observer of palmistry, he that when he meets you observes defects in the eyes or feet of the birds, or cats, or noises, or symbolical sounds; let these be proved for some time, for this sort of wickedness is hard to be washed away; and if they leave off those practices, let them be received, but if they will not agree to that, let them be rejected.

Let a concubine, who is servant to an unbeliever, and confines herself to her master alone, be received; but if she be incontinent with others, let her be rejected.

If one of the believers hath a concubine, if she be a bondservant, let him leave off that way, and contract a legal matrimony; if she be a free-woman, let him marry her in a lawful manner; if he doth not, let him be rejected; if she liveth with a believing servant, let her leave off, or be rejected.

He that followeth the Gentile customs or Jewish fables, either let him reform, or let him be rejected.

If any one followeth the sports of the theatre, their huntings, or horse-races, or combats, either let him leave them off, or let him be rejected.[1]

If we have omitted any thing, the circumstances will teach you, for we have all the Spirit of God.[2]

II. *How they who are admitted are instructed.*

He who is to be catechized, let him be catechized three years; but if any one be diligent, and has a good will to his business, let him be admitted; for it is not the length of time, but the course of life that is judged.[3]

He that teacheth, although he be one of the laity, yet if he be skilful in the word, and grave in his manners, let him teach; for they shall be all taught of God.[4]

[1] Greek Constitut. Book VIII. Compare Copt. Can., Book III. can. 4.

[2] Copt. Can., conclusion of can. 41.

[3] Greek Const., Book VIII.; Copt. Can. II. 42.

[4] Greek Const., Book VIII.

III. *The Moral Catechism, or the Doctrine of the Two Ways.*

There are two ways, one is the way of life, and the other is the way of death: and there is much difference in these two ways. But the way of life is, Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, who created thee, and thou shalt glorify Him who redeemed thee from death; for this is the first commandment.

But the second is, Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself. On these two commandments hang the law and the prophets.

Every thing that thou wouldest not should be done to thee, that do not thou also to another; that is, what thou hatest, do not to another.

Thou shalt not kill; thou shalt not commit adultery; thou shalt not commit fornication; thou shalt not pollute a youth; thou shalt not steal; thou shalt not be a sorcerer; thou shalt not use divination; thou shalt not cause a woman to miscarry, neither if she has brought forth a a child shalt thou kill it; thou shalt not covet any thing that is thy neighbor's; thou shalt not bear false witness; thou shalt not speak evil of any one, neither shalt thou think evil; thou shalt not be double-minded, neither shalt thou be double-tongued, for a double tongue is a snare of death; thy speech shall not be vain, neither tending to a lie; thou shalt not be covetous, neither rapacious, nor an hypocrite, nor of an evil heart, nor proud; thou shalt not speak an evil word against thy neighbor; thou shalt not hate any man, but thou shalt reprove some, and shalt have mercy upon others; thou shalt pray for some, and shalt love others as thy own soul.

My son, flee from all evil, and hate all evil. Be not angry, because anger leads to murder; for anger is an

evil demon. Be not emulous, neither be contentious nor quarrelsome, for envy proceeds from these.

My son, be not of unlawful desires, because desire leadeth to fornication, drawing men to it involuntarily; for lust is a demon. For if the evil spirit of anger is united with that of lust, they destroy those who shall receive them. And the way of the evil spirit is the sin of the soul. For when he spyeth a little way, quietly entering in he will make the way broad; and he will take with him all other evil spirits; he will go to that soul, and will not leave the man to meditate at all, lest he should see the truth. Let a restraint be put upon your anger, and curb it with not a little care, that you may cast it behind you, lest it should precipitate you into some evil deed. For wrath and evil desire, if they be suffered always to remain, are demons. And when they have dominion over a man, they change him in soul, that he may be prepared for a great deed: and when they have led him into unrighteous acts, they deride him, and will rejoice in the destruction of that man.

My son, be not the utterer of an evil expression, nor of obscenity, neither be thou haughty, for of these things come adulteries.

My son, be not a diviner, for divination leadeth to idolatry; neither be thou an enchanter, nor an astrologer, nor a magician, nor an idolater; neither teach them, nor hear them; for from these things proceedeth idolatry.

My son, be not a liar, because a falsehood leadeth to blasphemy. Neither be thou a lover of silver, nor a lover of vainglory, for from these thefts arise.

My son, be not a murmurer, because repining leadeth a man to blasphemy. Be thou not harsh, nor a thinker of evil, for of all these things contentions are begotten. But be thou meek, for the meek shall inherit the earth. And be thou also merciful, peaceable, compassionate, cleansed

in thy heart from all evil. Be thou sincere, gentle, good; trembling at the words of God, which thou hast heard, and do thou keep them. Do not exalt thyself, neither shalt thou give thy heart to pride, but thou shalt increase more and more with the just and humble. Every evil which cometh upon thee receive as good, knowing that nothing shall come upon thee but from God.

My son, he who declareth to thee the word of God, and hath been the cause of life to thee, and hath given to thee the holy seal which is in the Lord, thou shalt love him as the apple of thine eyes, and remember him by night and day: thou shalt honor him as of the Lord: for in that place in which the word of power is, there is the Lord; and thou shalt seek his face daily, him, and those who remain of the saints, that thou mayest rest thee on their words: for he who is united to the saints shall be holy.

Thou shalt honor him according to thy power, by the sweat of thy brow, and by the labor of thy hands: for if the Lord hath made thee meet that he might impart to thee spiritual food, and spiritual drink, and eternal life, by him; it becometh thee also the more, that thou shouldest impart to him the food which perisheth and is temporal; for the laborer is worthy of his hire. For it is written: Thou shalt not muzzle the ox that treadeth out the corn; neither doth any one plant a vineyard and not eat of the fruit thereof.

Thou shalt not cause schisms: thou shalt reconcile in peace those who contend with one another. Judge in righteousness, without acceptation of persons. Reprove him who hath sinned, for his sin. Suffer not wealth to prevail before God, neither justify the unworthy, for beauty profiteth not; but righteous judgment before all. Doubt not in thy prayer, thinking whether what thou hast asked of Him will be or not. Let it not, indeed, be, that when thou receivest thou stretchest out thine hand,

but when thou shouldest give thou drawest thy hand to thee. But if thou hast at hand, thou shalt give for the redemption of thy sins. Thou shalt not doubt, thou shalt give; neither when thou hast given shalt thou murmur, knowing there is a reward of God. Thou shalt not turn away from the needy, but shalt communicate with the needy in all things: thou shalt not say, these things are mine alone. If ye communicate with one another in those things which are incorruptible, how much rather should ye not do it in those things which are corruptible?

I beseech you, my brethren, while you have time, and he who asketh remains with you, if you are able to do good to them, do not fail in any thing to any one, which you have the power to do.

For the day of the Lord draweth nigh, in which every thing that is seen shall be dissolved, and the wicked shall be destroyed with it; for the Lord cometh, and his reward is with him.

Be ye lawgivers to your own selves; be ye teachers to yourselves alone, as God hath taught you. Thou shalt keep those things which thou hast received; thou shalt not take from them, neither shalt thou add to them.[1]

IV. *How, after the first course of instruction, the Catechumens undergo an examination, and their conduct is investigated before they are admitted to hear the gospel, and how long their instruction is to last.*

When they have chosen those appointed to receive baptism, let their life be inquired into, whether they have lived in chastity during the time of being catechumens: whether they have honored the widows; whether they have visited the sick; whether they have fulfilled every good work.

[1] Introduction to the Coptic Canons, Book I.

And if those who have introduced them have witnessed to them that they have done thus, let them hear the gospel. Let the catechumens be three years hearing the words; but if one hath been diligent and persevereth well in the work, the time shall not decide, but the application alone shall entirely decide it.[1]

V. *How they are dismissed with a Blessing after the Sermon.*

When the teacher hath ended the sermon, let the catechumens pray by themselves apart, and the faithful apart. And let the women stand praying in a place in the church, apart by themselves, whether the faithful women or the women catechumens. And when they conclude praying, let them not give the salutation (peace) before they are pure.

Let the believers salute one another, the men with the men alone, and the women with the women. But let not a man salute a woman. And let all the women not cover their heads with a costly veil, but with a fine cloth of cotton alone, for this is their veil.

When the teacher after the prayer shall lay his hands upon the catechumens, let him pray, dismissing them; whether he be an ecclesiastic or a layman who delivereth it, let him do so.[2]

VI. *The ancient prayers of the Church of Antioch for the Catechumens, as recorded by St. Chrysostom.*

(*The Catechumens pray silently, the congregation standeth.*)

Let us pray earnestly for the catechumens, that the all-loving and all-merciful God may hear their prayer: that He

[1] Copt. Can. b. II. 45a, 42. [2] Copt. Can. b. II. 43, 44.

may open the ears of their hearts, in order that they may perceive what no eye hath seen, no ear hath heard, and what is not come into the heart of any one:[1] that he may teach them the word of truth, and that he may sow in their hearts the seed of the fear of God: that he may strengthen the faith in their hearts: that he may reveal to them the gospel of righteousness: that He may give them a godlike mind, pure thoughts, and a virtuous life always to think what is of God, to meditate what is of God, to care for what is of God.

Let us pray still more earnestly for them: that He may preserve them from every evil and wicked deed, from every devilish sin, and from every deceit of the enemy: that He may make them worthy, at due time, of the laver of regeneration, and of the forgiveness of sins: that He may bless their going in and their going out, their whole life, their houses, and their families: that He may increase and bless their children, that He may bring them to the right age, and make them wise: that He may thus direct all which they propose to do, as may be most expedient for them.

The Deacon to the Catechumens: —

Rise!

Address to the standing Catechumens: —

Pray for the angel of peace, ye catechumens, that what you propose may be fulfilled in peace.

Pray that this day and all the days of your life may be peaceful, and that your end may be Christian.

Recommend yourselves to the living God and to His Christ.

Bend your heads.

(*They receive the blessing: the whole congregation saying:* Amen.)[2]

[1] Cor. ii. 9.

[2] St. Chrysost. 2d Homily on the Second Epistle to the Corinthians.

VII. *That a Catechumen who suffered Death for the Faith, hath received Baptism in his blood.*

If a catechumen has been apprehended for the name of the Lord, let him not hesitate to give the testimony; for if they have taken him by violence that they may kill him, he will be justified and receive the forgiveness of his sins; for he will have received baptism in his own blood.[1]

VIII. *How after the Course of Instruction has terminated, those Catechumens who are to be admitted are separated and sealed for being baptized at Easter.*

And when they shall be separated, let them lay hands upon them on that day, exorcising them.

And when the day approacheth on which they shall be baptized, let the bishop exorcise each one of them, that he may know that they are pure. But if any one is not good, or is not clean, let them put him apart, that he may not hear the word with the believers; for it is not possible that a stranger can ever be concealed. Let them teach those appointed for baptism that they should wash and be made free; that they should be made so on the fifth Sabbath (namely, on the Saturday in the fifth week of Lent, the Saturday before Palm-Sunday).

Let them, who are to receive baptism, fast on the preparation of the Sabbath (Friday). But on the Sabbath, when those who shall receive have been gathered together in one place, by the advice of the bishop, let them all be commanded to pray and to kneel; and when he hath laid his hand upon them, let him exorcise every strange spirit to flee from them, and not to return into them from that time. And when he hath finished exorcising, let him

[1] Copt. Can. b. II. 44.

breathe on them; and when he hath sealed their foreheads, and their ears, and the opening of their mouths, let him raise them up; and let them watch all the night, reading to them, and exhorting them. And let those who shall receive baptism not take any thing but that alone, which each one shall bring in for the thanksgiving; for it is becoming him who is worthy, that he should bring in his offering immediately.[1]

IX. *How the water is to be prepared, and the general order of baptism.*

And at the time of the crowing of the cock let them first pray over the water. Let the water be drawn into the font, or flow into it. And let it be thus, if they have no scarcity. But if there be a scarcity, let them pour the water which shall be found into the font; and let them undress themselves, and the young shall be first baptized. And after the adult men have been baptized, at the last the women, having loosed all their hair, and having laid aside their ornaments of gold and silver which were on them. Let not any one take a strange garment with him into the water.[2]

X. *How the oil for the anointing is prepared.*

And at the time which is appointed for the baptism let the bishop give thanks over the oil, which putting into a vessel, he shall call the oil of thanksgiving. Again, he shall take other oil, and exorcising over it, he shall call it the oil of exorcism. And a deacon shall bear the oil of exorcism, and stand on the left hand of the presbyter. Another deacon shall take the oil of thanksgiving, and stand on the right hand of the presbyter.[3]

[1] Copt. Can. b. II. 45b.
[2] Copt. Can. b. II. 46.
[3] Copt. Can. b. II. 46.

XI. *How they are to renounce Satan and be anointed: and then say the creed.*

And when the presbyter has taken hold of each one of those who are about to receive baptism, let him command him to renounce, saying: "I will renounce thee, Satan, and all thy service, and all thy works." And when he has renounced all these, let him anoint him with the oil of exorcism, saying: "Let every spirit depart from thee." And let the bishop or the presbyter receive him thus undressed, to place him in the water of baptism. Also let the deacon go with him into the water, and let him say to him, helping him that he may say: "I believe in the only true God, the Father Almighty, and in His only begotten Son Jesus Christ, our Lord and Saviour, and in the Holy Spirit, the quickener."

And let him who receiveth baptism repeat after all these: "I believe thus." And he who bestoweth it shall lay his hand upon the head of him who receiveth, dipping him three times, confessing these things each time. And afterwards let him say again: "Dost thou believe in our Lord Jesus Christ, the only son of God the Father; that he became man in a wonderful manner for us, in an incomprehensible unity, by his Holy Spirit, of Mary, the Holy Virgin, without the seed of man, and that he was crucified for us under Pontius Pilate, and died of his own will once for our redemption, and rose on the third day, loosing the bands of death; that he ascended up into heaven, and sate on the right hand of his good Father on high, and that he cometh again to judge the living and the dead at the appearing of him and his kingdom? And dost thou believe in the Holy good Spirit, and quickener, who wholly purifieth in the holy church?" Let him again say: "I believe."[1]

[1] Copt. Can. B. II. 46.

XII. *How they are anointed by the Presbyter and clothed and conducted into the Church.*

And let them go up out of the water, and the presbyter shall anoint him with the oil of thanksgiving, saying: "I anoint thee with holy anointing oil, in the name of Jesus Christ." Thus he shall anoint every one of the rest, and clothe them as the rest, and they shall enter into the church.[1]

XIII. *How the Bishop and the Elders bless and anoint the heads of the Catechumens with the Chrism, and how the Baptized give the Peace.*

Let the bishop lay his hand upon them with affection, saying: "Lord God, as thou hast made these worthy to receive the forgiveness of their sins in the world to come, make them worthy to be filled with thy Holy Spirit, and send upon them thy grace, that they may serve thee according to thy will, for thine is the glory, thou who art the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Spirit, in the holy church, now and always, and for ever and ever." And he shall pour of the oil of thanksgiving in his hand, and put his hand upon the head of each, saying, "I anoint *thee* with *the holy anointing* oil, from God the Father Almighty, and Jesus Christ, and the Holy Spirit." And he shall seal upon his forehead, saluting him. And he shall say, "The Lord be with thee." He, who hath been sealed, shall answer, "And with thy spirit." Each one (of the presbyters) doing thus with the remaining. And let all the people pray together. And all those who receive baptism shall be praying; let them say peace with their mouths.[2]

[1] Copt. Can. B. II. 46. [2] Ibid.

XIV. *How they receive the Eucharist and the Milk and Honey.*

Let the deacons bring the eucharist to the bishop, and he shall give thanks over the bread, because of the similitude of the flesh of Christ, and over the cup of wine, because it is the blood of Christ, which was poured out for every one who believeth on him; and milk and honey mixed, for fulfilling the promises to the fathers, because he hath said, "I will give you a land flowing with milk and honey." This is the flesh of Christ, which was given for us, that those who believe on him should be nourished by it as infants; that bitterness of heart may be dissipated by the sweetness of the Word. All these things the bishop shall discourse to those who shall receive baptism.

And when the bishop hath divided the bread, let him give a portion to each of them, saying, "This is the bread of heaven, the body of Christ Jesus." Let him who receiveth it answer, "Amen."

And if there are not more presbyters there, let the deacons take the cup, and they shall stand in order, that they may give them the blood of Christ Jesus our Lord, and the milk and the honey. Let him who giveth the cup say, "This is the blood of Christ Jesus our Lord;" and he who receiveth it again shall answer, "Amen."

And when these things have been done, let every one hasten to do all good things, and to please God, and to take care to live in integrity, being diligent in the church, doing those things which they have been taught, proceeding in the service of God.[1]

[1] Copt. Can. B. II. 46.

BOOK II.

A.

THE FIRST SET OF ORDINANCES OF THE CHURCH OF ALEXANDRIA RESPECTING THE CLERGY.[1]

I. *How a Bishop is to be elected, and what is required of him.*

If there should be a place having a few faithful men in it, before the multitude increase, who shall be able to make a dedication to pious uses for the bishop, to the extent of twelve men, let them write to the churches round about the place, in which the multitude of the believers (assemble and) are established.

That three chosen men in that place may come, that they may examine with diligence him who has been thought worthy of this degree, whether he have a good reputation among the people, as being guiltless, without anger, a lover of the poor, prudent, wise, not given to wine, not a fornicator, not covetous, not a contemner, not partial, and the like of these things.

If he have not a wife, it is a good thing; but if he have married a wife, having children, let him abide with her, continuing steadfast in every doctrine, able to explain the Scriptures well; but if he be ignorant of literature, let him be meek; let him abound in love towards every man, lest they should accuse the bishop in any affair, and he should be at all culpable.[2]

[1] Coptic Collection, First Book; Ethiopic Collection.

[2] Copt. Coll. Book I. Can. 16.

II. *That the Bishop is to ordain two, or rather three Presbyters.*

If the bishop whom they shall appoint hath attended to the knowledge and patience of the love of God with those with him, let him ordain two presbyters when he hath examined them, or rather three.

It behooveth the presbyters that they should live in the world, after the manner of old men, removing far off, that they should not touch a woman, being charitable, lovers of the brethren; that they should not accept persons, being partakers of the holy mysteries with the bishop, assisting in all things, collecting the multitude together, that they may love their shepherd. And the presbyters on the right hand have the care of those who labor at the altar, that they should honor those who are worthy of all honor, and rebuke those who merit their rebuke. The presbyters on the left hand shall have the care of the people, that they may be upright, that no one may be disturbed. And they shall instruct them that they should be in all subjection. But when they have instructed one, answering contumaciously, those within the altar should be of one heart and one mind, that they may receive the reward of that honor according to its desert. And all the rest shall fear lest they should deviate, and one of them should become changed, like one wasting away, and all should be brought into captivity.[1]

III. *How the Reader is to be proved, and what is required of him.*

The reader shall be appointed after he hath been fully proved; one who bridleth his tongue, not a drunkard, not a derider in his speech, but decorous in his appearance; obedient, being the first to congregate on the Lord's day;

[1] Copt. Can. 17, 18.

a servant knowing what is meet for him, that he may fulfil the work of publishing the gospel. For he who filleth the ears of others with his doctrines, it becometh him the more that he should be a faithful workman before God.[1]

IV[a]. *How the Deacon is to be proved, and what is required of him.*

Let the deacons be appointed by three testifying to their life. For it is written: "By the mouth of two or three witnesses shall every word be established." Let them be proved in every service, all the people bearing witness to them, that they have resided with one wife, have brought up their children well, being humble, prudent, meek, sober, quiet; not vehement, nor murmurers; not double-tongued, nor wrathful, for wrath destroyeth the wise; nor hypocrites. They shall not afflict the poor, neither shall they accept the persons of the rich; they shall not be drinkers of much wine, being ready to act in every good service in secret. Cheerful in their habitations, constraining the brethren who have, that they should open their hand to give. And they also being givers, the goods being in common, that the people may honor them with all honor, and all fear, beseeching with great earnestness those who walk in dissimulation. And some they should teach, and some they should rebuke, but the rest they should prohibit. But let those who despise, and the contumacious, be cast out, knowing that all men who are vehement or slanderers fight against Christ.[2]

IV. *Additional Ordinance respecting the Deacons.*

Let the deacons be doers of good works, drawing near by day and night in every place. They must not exalt themselves above the poor, neither must they accept the persons

[1] Copt. Can. 19. [2] Ibid. 20.

of the rich. They shall know the afflicted, that they may give to him out of their store of provisions; constraining those who are able for good works to gather them in, attending to the words of our Master: "I was an hungered, and ye gave me meat." For those who have ministered without sin, gain for themselves much confidence.[1]

V. *How three Widows are to be appointed, and what are their duties.*

Let three widows be appointed; two that they may give their whole attention to prayer for every one who is in temptations, and that they may render thanks to him whom they follow. But the other one should be left constantly with the women who are tried in sickness, ministering well; watching and telling to the presbyter the things which take place. Not a lover of filthy lucre; not given to drink: that she may be able to watch, that she may minister in the night. And if another desireth to help to do good works, let her do so according to the pleasure of her heart; for these are the good things which the Lord first commanded.[2]

VI. *For what purpose Deaconesses are to be appointed.*

Christ gave no place for the women, that they might help at the altar. Martha said of Mary, "See how she laughs." Mary said, "I laughed not; but he said to us, teaching, that the weak shall be liberated by the strong."

Some say, it becometh the women to pray standing, and that they should not cast themselves down upon the earth.

Women are not to be appointed for a service, besides this service only, that they assist the indigent.[3]

[1] Copt. Can. 22. [2] Ibid. 21. [3] Ibid. 26–28.

B.

THE SECOND SET OF ORDINANCES OF THE CHURCH OF ALEXANDRIA RESPECTING THE CLERGY.[1]

I. *How a Bishop is to be elected and ordained, and how he is to say the thanksgiving.*

A bishop shall be ordained who hath been chosen by all the people and is blameless. When the name of this one hath been named and they have agreed, all the people shall assemble together, and the presbyters and deacons, on the Lord's day, all the bishops consenting; and the presbyters standing quietly, and they all being silent together, they shall pray in their heart that the Holy Spirit may descend upon him. And he who is worthy out of the bishops, every one standing, putteth his hand upon him whom they have made bishop, praying over him. And when he is made a bishop, let all give the salutation of peace to him, saluting him with the mouth. And let the deacons present the holy communion to him. And he, when he hath put his hand upon the eucharist with the presbyters, let him say the thanksgiving: "The Lord be with you all." Let all the people say, "And with thy spirit." He shall say, "Lift up your hearts." The people shall say, "We have them to the Lord." He shall say again, "Let us give thanks to the Lord." All the people shall say, "(It is) worthy and just." And let him pray thus, saying the (prayers) following these, according to the custom of the holy communion.[2]

[1] Coptic Collection, Second Book.
[2] Copt. Coll. book ii. can. 31.

I*. *The same, according to the Ethiopic Collection.*

The bishop shall be chosen by all the people. He must be without blame, as it is written in the Apostle (Epistle to Timothy). In the week in which he is to be ordained, if all the people say of him, "We choose him," he is not to be molested. And they shall pray over him, and say: "O God, show Thy love to this man whom Thou hast prepared for us." And they shall choose one of the bishops and one of the presbyters; and they shall lay their hands upon his head and pray.[1]

II*. *How a Presbyter is to be ordained, according to that same Ethiopic Collection.*

When a presbyter is to be ordained, there shall be done to him in every respect as is done to a bishop, except placing him on the cathedra, and they shall pray over him all the prayers of the bishop, except the name of the bishop only; and the presbyter shall equal the bishop in every thing except the name of the cathedra and of ordination. For he hath not given to him the power of ordination.[2]

II. *The same, according to the Coptic Collection.*

And when the bishop shall ordain a presbyter, he shall put his hands upon his head, and all the presbyters shall touch him. And let him pray over him, according to the form which we have spoken of concerning the bishops.[3]

III. *How a Deacon is to be appointed, and what is his office.*

And the bishop shall appoint a deacon who hath been chosen: the bishop alone shall lay his hands on him: be-

[1] Ethiopic Coll. Can. 2. [2] Ibid. 4. [3] Copt. Can. 32.

cause he shall not be ordained for the priesthood but for the service of the bishop, that he may do those things which he shall command him. Neither shall he be appointed, that he may be of the council of all the clergy, but that he may take care of the sick, and he shall make them known to the bishop. Neither shall he be appointed that he may receive the spirit of greatness which the presbyters shall receive, but that he may be worthy that the bishop may believe him in those things which it behooveth him. On this account the bishop alone shall ordain the deacon.[1]

IV. *In what a Bishop differs from an Elder.*

But the bishop shall ordain the presbyter. He shall lay the hand on him, because that same spirit cometh upon him: for the presbyter receiveth it only, he hath not power to give it to the clergy; therefore he will not be able to appoint the clergy. The presbyter is only sealing (is only able to baptize and give the spirit to the baptized in anointing him), the bishop shall ordain him.[2]

V. *That a Confessor needeth no ordination to become Deacon or Presbyter.*

But if the confessor hath been in bonds for the name of the Lord, they shall not lay hands on him for the service (of deacons), or for the office of presbyter, for he hath the honor of eldership by his confession. But if they will appoint him for a bishop, they shall lay hands on him. But if he is a confessor, he shall not have been taken in before the authorities; neither shall he have been punished with bonds; neither shall he have been cast into prison; neither shall he have been condemned in any injustice. But according to the Word, because he hath been reviled alone for

[1] Copt. Can. 33a. [2] Copt. Can. 33b.

the name of our Lord, and hath been punished with punishment in a house, and hath confessed, he is worthy of every sacerdotal office from them, they shall lay hands on him, and every one shall pray according to his ability. But if he is able to pray suitably, and the prayer acceptable, it is good. But if, when he again prayeth, he sendeth forth a prayer in (a certain) measure, no one forbidding him, let him only pray entirely in a right faith.[1]

VI. *How a Reader is to be appointed.*

The reader shall be appointed. The bishop shall give him the book of the apostles, and shall pray over him, but he shall not lay his hand upon him.[2]

VII. *How Widows are to be appointed.*

But when a widow is appointed, she shall not be ordained, but she shall be chosen by name; and if her husband hath been dead for a long time, let her be appointed. But if she hath not delayed from the death of her husband, believe her not. But if she hath become old, let her be proved for a time; for often even the passion long surviveth, and will have place in them.

Let a widow be appointed by word only. She shall be united with the rest. They shall not lay hands on her, because she shall not put on the eucharist, neither shall she perform public service. But imposition of hands shall be with the clergy for the ministry. But the widow is appointed for prayer, and that is of all.[3]

[1] Copt. Can. 34. [2] Ibid. 35. [3] Ibid. 37.

VIII. *How Virgins are to be appointed.*

There shall be no imposition of hands on a virgin; for it is her choice alone that maketh her a virgin.[1]

IX. *What is to be done with him who hath the gifts of healing.*

If one shall say, "I have received the gifts of healing by a revelation," they shall not lay hands on him; for the thing itself will be manifest if he speak truth.[2]

C.

THE THIRD SET OF ORDINANCES OF THE CHURCH OF ALEXANDRIA RESPECTING THE CLERGY.[3]

I. *How a Bishop is to be elected, proved, and ordained.*

It is necessary that a bishop should be ordained; first being chosen, being a holy person, approved in all things, chosen by all the people; and when he hath been named and approved, let all the people, and the presbyters, and the honored bishops assemble together on the Lord's day, and let the principal among them ask the presbyters and all the people: "Is this the man whom ye desire for a ruler?" And if they shall say, "Yes, this is he in truth," let him ask them again: "Do ye all bear witness to him, that he is worthy of this great, honorable, and holy, authority? and

[1] Copt. Can. 38. [2] Ibid. 39. [3] Coptic Collection, Book IV.

whether he hath been pure in the piety which he hath towards God? And whether he observeth justice towards all men? And whether he governeth his own house well? And whether his whole life hath been blameless, and he hath not been apprehended in any thing, neither those of his house?"

And if they altogether have witnessed that he is such an one according to the truth, and not according to favor, God the Father, and his only begotten Son, Jesus Christ our Lord, and the Holy Spirit being judge that these things are so; let them be asked the third time, if he be worthy of this great service, of sacrifice, "That out of the mouth of two or three witnesses every word may be established: and if they shall say the third time that he is worthy, let their votes be received from them all; and when they have given these cheerfully, let them be silent and quiet. And one of the principal bishops shall take with him two other bishops, all the bishops standing near the altar, praying in silence with the presbyters; all the deacons also holding the Holy Gospels spread open upon the head of him who is to be ordained, the bishop praying to God over him. And when he hath finished praying over him, let one of the bishops place the oblation upon the hands of him who is ordained, and let the bishops place him upon the throne which becometh him.[1]

II. *How the Bishop is to ordain a Presbyter or Deacon.*

When thou, O bishop, ordainest a *presbyter*, lay thy hand upon his head, all the presbyters standing, and the deacons praying, ordaining him. Thou shalt also ordain the deacon according to this first ordination.[2]

[1] Copt. Can. 65. [2] Ibid. 67a.

III. *How he is to appoint Subdeacons, and Readers, and Deaconesses.*

And concerning the subdeacons, and readers, and deaconesses, it is not necessary to ordain them.[1]

IV. *That a Confessor needeth no Ordination, unless made a Bishop.*

Ordain not the confessor, for this thing is of his choice and patience; for he is worthy of a great honor, as he who hath confessed the name of God and his Son, before kings and nations. But if there shall be occasion that he should be made a bishop, or a presbyter, or a deacon, let him be ordained.[2]

V. *Against arrogant and presumptuous Confessors.*

If a confessor, who hath not been ordained, hath seized for himself the dignity, on account of the confession, let him be anathematized; for he is not one since he hath denied the command of Christ, and "hath become worse than an infidel."[3]

VI. *Virgins not to be ordained.*

Let not a virgin be ordained, for we have no command from the Lord. For this struggle is her choice, and is not for the reproach of marriage, but for the leisure of serving God.[4]

VII. *Precautions in the appointment of Widows.*

A widow shall not be ordained; but if it is a great distance of time since her husband died, and she has lived prudently, and they have not found any fault against her, and she

[1] Can. 67b. [2] Ibid. 68a. [3] Ibid. 68b. [4] Ibid. 69.

has taken care of those of her house well, as Judith and Anna, women of purity, let her be appointed to the order of widows. But if she hath not waited from the death of her husband, believe her not, but let her be proved by the time. For the evil passion remaineth in old persons, with those who will permit it a place in themselves, if it be not restrained with a sharp bridle.[1]

VIII. *Precautions as to Persons who have the Gift of healing the Possessed.*

Exorcists shall not be ordained, for the design is of the choice of the will, and of the grace of God, and Christ Jesus. When the Holy Spirit is manifested in the man, he will receive the gift of healing; it is made manifest by the revelation of God, by the grace of God which is in him, giving light to all men. But if there be a necessity that he should be a bishop, or presbyter, or deacon, let him be ordained.[2]

IX. *Additional Ordinance as to the case of a Bishop having been ordained by one Bishop only.*

It is necessary that a bishop should be ordained by three, or two, bishops; but if one bishop hath ordained him, let him be anathematized. But if a necessity hath happened to any one that he should be ordained by one only, because they are not able to gather together on account of the persecution which is without, or on account of any other such like cause, let the permission from many other holy bishops be received for doing this, which is requisite for him.[3]

X. *General Definitions of the peculiar Right and Power of the different Members of the Clergy.*

The bishop blesseth, but is not blessed. He ordaineth, layeth on hands upon men, putteth on the oblation, receiveth

[1] Can. 70. [2] Ibid. 71. [3] Ibid. 72.

the blessing from the bishops, but not from the presbyters. The bishop anathematizeth (excludeth) every clergyman who deserveth to be anathematized (excluded); but to another bishop he is without power to do this alone.

A presbyter also blesseth and receiveth the blessing from his fellow-presbyter and from the bishop; and he likewise giveth it to his fellow-presbyter. He layeth his hands on men, but he doth not ordain, neither doth he anathematize. He putteth out those who are under him; and if there are any deserving of punishment, let him give it them.

A deacon doth not bless, neither doth he give the blessing, but he receiveth it from the bishop and the presbyter. He doth not baptize, neither doth he put on the eucharist. But when the bishop and the presbyter have set on the eucharist, the deacon giveth the cup, not as a priest, but as one who ministereth to the priests. There is no power in any other of the clergy to do the work of a deacon.

And a deaconess doth not bless, neither doth she do any of those things which the presbyters and the deacons do, but she keepeth the doors only, and ministereth to the presbyters at the time of the baptism of women, because this is becoming.

A deacon can put out the subdeacon, and the readers, and the singer, and the deaconesses, if occasion leads him, no presbyter indeed being there. A subdeacon has no power to put out a reader, or a singer, or a deaconess, or a lay person, for he is a minister to the deacons.[1]

[1] Can. 73.

BOOK III.

A.

THE LITURGY, OR THE GENERAL ORDER OF THE SERVICE.

FIRST PART.

Preparatory Service, or Service of the Catechumens.

Accessible also to the hearers, who are learning the word, but have not yet taken the sacred pledge, and therefore do not belong to the communion of the believers.

A Psalm of the Old or (New ?) Testament sung in the antiphonic manner of the Hebrew poetry, according to hemistichs.

Or also an act of humiliation and confession.

The doxology, or the praise, at the end of a Psalm:

Glory be to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Ghost, for ever and ever. Amen.

Or,

Glory be to the Father, and to the Son, with the Holy Ghost, for ever and ever. Amen.

Or,

Glory be to the Father in (or *through*) *the Son, and through the Holy Ghost, for ever and ever. Amen.*

A Canticle of the Old Testament.

Or a Christian hymn or sacred song.

Lesson from the Old Testament.

Lesson from the New Testament.

Homily, or explanation of Scripture, especially of the Gospel, and exhortations to Christian faith and life.

Dismissal of the catechumens or hearers, with blessing.

SECOND PART.

The Service of the Believers, or Service of Thanksgiving (Eucharist).

The *Oblation*, or placing of bread and wine (and first-fruits) on the communion table.

Generally a word of *admonition* premised, as:

No profane!
Wisdom!

The mutual *salutation* of bishop (or presbyters) and people:

The Lord be with you:
And with thy Spirit.

The *Preface*, or introduction to the thanksgiving for the gifts of God and for Christ's redemption:

Lift up your hearts:
We lift them up unto the Lord.
Let us give thanks unto the Lord:
It is meet and right so to do.

The *Prayer of Thanksgiving:* either only

The Lord's Prayer,

to which, for that purpose, the following doxology or concluding praise was added, with the usual response:

For thine is the kingdom, and the power, and the glory, for ever and ever.

[Or,

For thine is the power, for ever and ever.]

Amen.

Or, besides, a free prayer of the bishop, or elder, praising God's benefits from the creation of the world, and asking his blessing for the communicants.

(The words of the institution formed no necessary part of this prayer of consecration, but may have been historically recited.)

The communion of all the believers present, taken both in the bread and in the cup.

Antiphonic verses used before the communion, according to the custom of the church.

The *Cherubic Hymn*, or *Trisagion*, from Isaiah:

Holy, holy, holy, is the Lord the God of Sabaoth.
Heaven and earth are full of thy glory.

After this verse, or perhaps originally instead of it, was sung:
The *hymn of thanksgiving*, or the *morning hymn.*
(See the text at the head of the hymns.)

Other antiphonic verses used before the communion:

Hosanna to the Son of David:
Blessed is he who cometh in the name of the Lord.

Or,

God is the Lord:
Who was made manifest to us in the flesh.

Or, exhortations and admonitions to the congregation:

He who is holy, let him draw near.
If he is not, let him become so through penitence.

Or,

This is Maranatha! (the Lord cometh!)

After the communion.

Prayer of thanksgiving, for the benefit and grace received, (sometimes the Lord's Prayer with doxology used at this place.)
The dismissal of the congregation with the blessing.

B.

THE RECORDED EARLY HYMNS AND FORMS OF THANKSGIVING.

I. *The Hymn of Thanksgiving, or the Morning Hymn of the early Church.*

1. *According to the Alexandrian Manuscript of the Bible: also called Hymnus Angelicus.*

Glory be to God on high, and on earth peace, good-will among men. We praise Thee, we bless Thee, we worship

Thee: we give thanks to Thee for Thy great glory; O Lord, heavenly king, God the Father almighty! O Lord, the only begotten Son, Jesus Christ; and the Holy Ghost, O Lord God! O Lamb of God! Son of the Father, that takest away the sins of the world, have mercy upon us. Thou that takest away the sins of the world, have mercy upon us, receive our prayer. Thou that sittest at the right hand of God the Father, have mercy upon us. For Thou only art holy: Thou only the Lord, Jesus Christ, to the glory of God the Father. Amen.

2. *The same reduced to its primitive form.*

Glory be to God on high:
And on earth peace, good-will among men.
[Or perhaps more primitively:
And on earth peace among the men of good-will.]

We praise Thee, we bless Thee, we worship Thee,
We give thanks to Thee for thy great glory.
O Lord, heavenly King, God the Father Almighty:
Lord God!

O Lord, the only begotten Son:
Jesus Christ!
That takest away the sins of the world:
Have mercy upon us.
Thou that takest away the sins of the world:
Have mercy upon us, receive our prayer.
Thou that sittest at the right hand of God the Father:
Have mercy upon us.

For Thou only art holy:
Thou only art the Lord Jesus Christ:
To the glory of God the Father. *Amen.*

II. *The Morning Psalm* (Ps. xiii.), *or the following morning verse between Psalm verses:*

Every day will I bless Thee:
And I will bless thy name for ever and ever.
Vouchsafe, O Lord, to keep us this day without sin.
Blessed art Thou, O Lord God of our Fathers:
And Thy name be praised and glorified for ever and ever.
Amen.

III. *The Evening Psalm* (Ps. xli.), *or the Song of Simeon, or the following Psalm composed of Psalm Verses.*

Blessed art Thou, O Lord, teach me Thy statutes.
Lord, Thou hast been our dwelling-place in all generations.
I said, Lord, be merciful unto me:
Heal my soul, for I have sinned against Thee.
Lord, I flee unto thee to hide me.
Teach me to do Thy will:
For Thou art my God.
For with Thee is the fountain of life:
In Thy light shall we see light.
O continue thy loving-kindness unto them that know Thee.

IV. *The Evening Hymn of the Greek Christians.*

Serene light of holy glory,
Of the Father everlasting, Jesus Christ!
Having come to the setting of the sun,
And seeing the evening light,
We praise the Father and the Son
And the Holy Spirit of God.
It behooveth to praise Thee
At all time with holy songs,
Sons of God who hast given life,
Therefore the world glorifieth Thee.

V. *The Evening Hymn of the Apostolic Constitutions.*

Praise, O ye servants, the Lord:
Praise the name of the Lord.

We praise Thee, we sing unto Thee, we bless Thee:
On account of Thy great glory.
O Lord the King, Father of Christ:
Of the spotless Lamb, which taketh away the sins of the world.
It behooveth to praise Thee:
It behooveth to sing unto Thee.
It behooveth to glorify Thee, God and Father:
Through the Son, in the Holy Ghost, for ever and ever.
Amen.

APPENDIX FROM THE SEVENTH BOOK OF THF GREEK CONSTITUTIONS.

LITURGICAL FORMULARIES.

I. *A Form of Prayer of Thanksgiving before the Communion.*

We thank Thee, our Father, for that life which Thou hast made known to us by Jesus thy Son, by whom Thou madest all things, and takest care of the whole world; whom Thou hast sent to become man for our salvation; whom Thou hast permitted to suffer and to die; whom Thou hast raised up, and been pleased to glorify, and hast set down on Thy right hand: by whom Thou hast promised us the resurrection of the dead. Do Thou, O Lord Almighty, everlasting God, so gather together Thy church from the ends of the earth into

thy kingdom, as this (corn) was once scattered, and is now become one loaf. We also, our Father, thank thee for the precious blood of Jesus Christ, which was shed for us, and for his precious body, whereof we celebrate this representation, as himself appointed us, to show forth his death. For, through Him, glory is to be given to Thee for ever. *Amen.*

II. *A Form of Thanksgiving after the Communion.*

We thank Thee, O God and Father of Jesus our Saviour, for Thy holy name, which Thou hast made to inhabit among us; and that knowledge, faith, love, and immortality, which Thou hast given us through Thy Son Jesus. Thou, O Almighty Lord, the God of the universe, hast created the world, and the things that are therein by Him; and hast planted a law in our souls, and beforehand didst prepare things for the convenience of men. O God of our holy and blameless fathers, Abraham, and Isaac, and Jacob, Thy faithful servants; Thou, O God, who art powerful, faithful, and true, and without deceit in Thy promises; who didst send upon earth Jesus Thy Christ to converse with men, as a man, when he was God, the Word, and man, to take away error by the roots; do thou, even now, through Him, be mindful of this Thy holy church, which Thou hast purchased with the precious blood of Thy Christ, and deliver it from all evil, and perfect it in Thy love and Thy truth, and gather us all together into Thy kingdom which Thou hast prepared. *Amen.*

POWER CLAIMED FOR THE POPE BY THE ROMISH HIERARCHY.[1]

"It is notorious, that many canonists (if not most) and many divines of that party do maintain this doctrine; affirming, that all the power of Christ (the Lord of lords, and King of kings, to whom all power in heaven and earth doth appertain) is imparted to the pope, as to his vicegerent.[2]

"This is the doctrine which almost four hundred years ago Augustinus Triumphus, in his [3] egregious work concerning ecclesiastical power, did teach; attributing to the pope an incomprehensible and infinite power; because great is the Lord, and great is his power, and of his greatness there is no end.

"This is the doctrine which the leading theologue of their sect, their angelical doctor, doth affirm, both directly, saying, that [4] in the pope is the top of both powers; and by plain consequence, asserting, that when any one is denounced excommunicate for apostasy, his subjects are immediately freed from his dominion, and their oath of allegiance to him.

"This the same Thomas (or an author passing under his name, in his book touching the rule of princes) doth teach, affirming that the pope,[5] as supreme king of all the world, may impose taxes on all Christians, and destroy towns and castles for the preservation of Christianity.

[1] Extract from Barrow's works on the Pope's Supremacy, Vol. VII. p. 5 to 17.

[2] Bell. V. I.

[3] Bell. de Script. an. 1301.

[4] Thomas in fine Secun. Sentent. dicit in papa esse apicem utriusque potestatis. Bell. V. I.

[5] S. Thomas (in lib. iii. de Regim. Princ. cap. 10, 19.) Bell. V. 5.

"This (as cardinal Zabarell near three hundred years ago telleth us) is the doctrine [1] which, for a long time, those who would please popes did persuade them, that they could do all things, whatever they pleased; yea, and things unlawful; and so could do more than God.

"According to this doctrine then current at Rome, in the last Lateran great synod, under the pope's nose and in his ear, one bishop styled him,[2] prince of the world; another orator called him,[3] king of kings, and monarch of the earth; another great prelate said of him, that [4] he had all power above all powers both of heaven and earth. And the same roused up Pope Leo X. in these brave terms:[5] "Snatch up therefore the twoedged sword of divine power, committed to thee; and enjoin, command, and charge, that an universal peace and alliance be made among Christians for at least ten years; and to that bind kings in the fetters of the great King, and constrain nobles by the iron manacles of censures; for to thee is given all power in heaven and in earth."

This is the doctrine which Baronius, with a Roman confidence, doth so often assert and drive forward, saying, that [6] there can be no doubt of it, but that the civil principality is subject to the sacerdotal: and, that [7] God hath made the political government subject to the dominion of the spiritual church.

§ III. From that doctrine the opinion in effect doth not differ, which Bellarmine voucheth for the common opinion of catholics, that [8] by reason of the spiritual power, the

[1] Zab. de Schism.

[2] Episc. Spal. sess. i. p. 24.

[3] Del. Rio, sess. viii. p. 87.

[4] Episc. Patrac. sess. x. p. 132.

[5] Ibid. p. 133.

[6] Politicum principatum sacerdotali esse subjectum nulla potest esse dubitatio. Ann. 57, § 23.

[7] Ibid. § 53.

[8] Bell. V. I.

pope, at least indirectly, hath a supreme power even in temporal matters.

This opinion, so common, doth not, I say, in effect and practical consideration, anywise differ from the former; but only in words devised to shun envy, and veil the impudence of the other assertion: for the qualifications, by reason of the spiritual power, and at least indirectly, are but notional, insignificant, and illusive, in regard to practice: it importing not, if he hath in his keeping a sovereign power, upon what account, or in what formality he doth employ it; seeing that every matter is easily referable to a spiritual account; seeing he is sole judge upon what account he doth act; seeing experience showeth that he will spiritualize all his interests, and upon any occasion exercise that pretended authority; seeing it little mattereth, if he may strike princes, whether he doth it by a downright blow, or slantingly.

§ IV. That such an universal and absolute power hath been claimed by divers popes, successively for many ages, is apparent from their most solemn declarations and notorious practices; whereof (beginning from later times, and rising upwards toward the source of this doctrine) we shall represent some.

The bull of Pope Sixtus V. against the two sons of wrath, Henry, king of Navarre, and the prince of Condé, beginneth thus: "The authority given to St. Peter and his successors, by the immense power of the eternal King, excels all the powers of earthly kings and princes — it passes uncontrollable sentence upon them all — and if it find any of them resisting God's ordinance, it takes more severe vengeance of them, casting them down from their thrones, though never so puissant, and tumbling them down to the lowest parts of the earth, as the ministers of aspiring Lucifer." And then he proceeds to thunder against them, "We deprive them and their posterity for ever of their dominions and kingdoms;" and accordingly he depriveth those princes of their kingdoms

and dominions, absolveth their subjects from their oaths of allegiance, and forbiddeth them to pay any obedience to them.[1] "By the authority of these presents, we do absolve and set free all persons, as well jointly as severally, from any such oath, and from all duty whatsoever in regard of dominion, fealty, and obedience; and do charge and forbid all and every of them, that they do not dare to obey them, or any of their admonitions, laws, and commands."

Pope Pius V. (one of the holiest popes of the last stamp, who hardly hath escaped canonization until now)[2] beginneth his bull against our Queen Elizabeth in these words:[3] "He that reigneth on high, to whom is given all power in heaven and in earth, hath committed the one holy catholic and apostolic church, out of which there is no salvation, to one alone on earth, namely, to Peter, prince of the apostles, and to the Roman pontiff, successor of Peter, to be governed with a plenitude of power: this one he hath constituted prince over all nations and all kingdoms, that he might pluck up, destroy, dissipate, ruinate, plant, and build." And in the same bull he declares, that "he thereby deprives the queen of her pretended right to the kingdom, and of all dominion, dignity, and privilege whatsoever; and absolves all the nobles, subjects, and people of the kingdom, and whoever else have sworn to her, from their oath, and all duty whatsoever, in regard of dominion, fidelity, and obedience."

Pope Clement VI. did pretend to depose the emperor Lewis IV.

Pope Clement V. in the great synod of Vienna, declared the emperor subject to him, or standing obliged to him by a proper oath of fealty.[4]

Pope Boniface VIII. hath a decree extant in the canon

[1] Bulla Sixti V. contra Henr. Navarr. R. etc.

[2] Briet. Chr. anno 1572.

[3] P. Pius V. in Bull. contra R. Eliz. (Camb. Hist. anno 1570.)

[4] Clem. lib. ii. tit. 9. Vide Conc. Vienn. p. 909.

law running thus:[1] "We declare, say, define, pronounce it to be of necessity to salvation, for every human creature to be subject to the Roman pontiff." The which subjection, according to his intent, reacheth all matters; for he there challengeth a double sword, and asserteth to himself jurisdiction over all temporal authorities: for[2] "One sword," saith he, "must be under another, and the temporal authority must be subject to the spiritual power;— whence, if the earthly power doth go astray, it must be judged by the spiritual power." The which aphorisms he proveth by Scriptures admirably expounded to that purpose.

This definition might pass for a rant of that boisterous pope,[3] (a man above measure ambitious and arrogant,) vented in his passion against King Philip of France, if it had not the advantage (of a greater than which no papal decree is capable) of being expressly confirmed by one of their general councils; for[4] "We (saith Pope Leo X. in his bull read and passed in the Lateran council) do renew and approve that holy constitution, with approbation of the present holy council." Accordingly Melch. Canus saith,[5] "that the Lateran council did renew and approve that extravagant (indeed extravagant) constitution:" and Baronius saith of it, "that[6] all do assent to it, so that none dissenteth, who doth not by discord fall from the church."

The which authority was avowed by that great council under this pope,[7] (the which, according to the men of Trent, did represent or constitute the church,) wherein it was ordained, that if a temporal lord, being required and admonished by the church, should neglect to purge his territory

[1] Extrav. com. lib. i. tit. 8, cap. I.
[2] Ibid.
[3] Binius in Vita Bonif. VIII.
[4] Concil. Lateran. sess. xi. p. 153.
[5] Canus, loc. vi. 4.
[6] Baron. Ann. 1053, § 14.
[7] Conc. Later. cap. 3, in Decret. Greg. lib. v. tit. 7, cap. 13.

from heretical filth, he should by the metropolitan and the other comprovincial bishops be noosed in the band of excommunication; and that if he should slight to make satisfaction within a year, it should be signified to the pope, that he might from that time denounce the subjects absolved from their fealty to him, and expose the territory to be seized on by catholics, etc.

Before that, Pope Paschal II. deprived Henry IV. and excited enemies to persecute him;[1] telling them, that they could not offer a more acceptable sacrifice to God, than by impugning him, who endeavored to take the kingdom from God's church.

Before him, Pope Urban II. (called Turban by some in his age) did preach this doctrine, recommended to us in the decrees, that[2] subjects are by no authority constrained to pay the fidelity which they have sworn to a Christian prince, who opposeth God and his saints, or violateth their precepts. An instance whereof we have in his granting a privilege to the canons of Tours;[3] which, saith he, "if any emperor, king, prince, etc. shall wilfully attempt to thwart, let him be deprived of the dignity of his honor and power."

But the great apostle (if not author) of this confounding doctrine was Pope Gregory VII. (a man of a bold spirit and fiery temper, inured even before his entry on that see to bear sway, and drive on daring projects; possessed with resolution to use the advantages of his place and time in pushing forward the papal interest to the utmost,) who did lift up his voice like a trumpet, kindling wars and seditions thereby over Christendom. His dictates and practices are well known, being iterated in his own epistles, and in the Roman councils under him, extant: yet it may be worth the while to hear him swagger in his own language.

[1] P. Pasch. Ep. vii. ad Rob. Fland. Com.
[2] Caus. xv. qu. 7, cap. 5.
[3] P. Urb. II. Ep. 12.

"For the dignity and defence of God's holy church, in the name of Almighty God, the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, I depose from imperial and royal administration, king Henry, son of Henry sometime emperor, who too boldly and rashly hath laid hands on thy church; and I absolve all Christians subject to the empire from that oath whereby they were wont to plight their faith unto true kings: for it is right that he should be deprived of dignity, who doth endeavor to diminish the majesty of the church." [1]

OATH OF ROMAN CATHOLIC BISHOPS,

AS PUBLISHED IN THE ROMAN PONTIFICAL, PREPARED BY ORDER OF POPE CLEMENT VII. SANCTIONED ALSO BY COUNCIL OF TRENT.[2]

"I —, elect of the church of —, from henceforward will be faithful and obedient to St. Peter the apostle, and to the holy Roman church, and to our lord, the lord — pope — and to his successors, canonically coming in. I will neither advise, consent, or do any thing that they may lose life or member, or that their persons may be seized, or hands anywise laid upon them, or any injuries offered to them, under any pretence whatsoever. The counsel which they shall intrust me withal, by themselves, their messengers, or letters, I will not knowingly reveal to any to their prejudice. I will help them to defend and keep the Roman papacy, and the royalties of St. Peter, saving my order, against all men. The legate of the apostolic see, going and coming, I will

[1] Plat. in Greg. VII. et tom. 7, Conc. Rom. iii. apud Bin. p. 484.

[2] For this see Barrow's works, Vol. VII. p. 46, Ponti. Rom. Antwerp, A. D. 1626, p. 59, 86, and Cons. Trid. sess. xxiv. Chap. XII., which provided that every beneficed clergyman should vow and swear to abide in obedience to the Roman church.

honorably treat and help in his necessities. The rights, honors, privileges, and authority of the holy Roman church, of our lord the pope, and his foresaid successors, I will endeavor to preserve, defend, increase, and advance. I will not be in any counsel, action, or treaty, in which shall be plotted against our said lord, and the said Roman church, any thing to the hurt or prejudice of their persons, right, honor, state, or power; and if I shall know any such thing to be treated or agitated by any whatsoever, I will hinder it to my power; and as soon as I can will signify it to our said lord, or to some other, by whom it may come to his knowledge. The rules of the holy fathers, the apostolic decrees, ordinances, or disposals, reservations, provisions, and mandates, I will observe with all my might, and cause to be observed by others. *Heretics, schismatics, and rebels to our said lord, or his foresaid successors, I will to my power persecute and oppose.* I will come to a council when I am called, unless I be hindered by a canonical impediment. I will by myself in person visit the threshold of the apostles every three years; and give an account to our lord and his foresaid successors of all my pastoral office, and of all things anywise belonging to the state of my church, to the discipline of my clergy and people, and lastly to the salvation of souls committed to my trust; and will in like manner humbly receive and diligently execute the apostolic commands. And if I be detained by a lawful impediment, I will perform all the things aforesaid by a certain messenger hereto specially empowered, a member of my chapter, or some other in ecclesiastical dignity, or else having a parsonage; or in default of these, by a priest of the diocese; or in default of one of the clergy, [of the diocese,] by some other secular or regular priest of approved integrity and religion, fully instructed in all things above mentioned. And such impediment I will make out by lawful proofs to be transmitted by the foresaid messenger to the cardinal

proponent of the holy Roman church in the congregation of the sacred council. The possessions belonging to my table I will neither sell, nor give away, nor mortgage, nor grant anew in fee, nor anywise alienate, no, not even with the consent of the chapter of my church, without consulting the Roman pontiff. And if I shall make any alienation, I will thereby incur the penalties contained in a certain constitution put forth about this matter. So help me God and these holy Gospels of God.

Such, says Barrow, is the oath prescribed to bishops, the which is worth the most serious attention of all men, who would understand how miserably slavish the condition of the clergy is in that church, and how inconsistent their obligation to the pope is with their duty to their prince.

EXTRACTS FROM PASCAL.[1]

INTRODUCTION.

"THE name of PASCAL (that prodigy of parts, as Locke calls him,") says Mr. Dugald STEWART,[2] "is more familiar to modern ears than that of any of the other learned and polished anchorites who have rendered the sanctuary of *Port-Royal* so illustrious. Abstracting from his great merit in mathematics and in physics, his reputation rests chiefly on the '*Provincial Letters*;' a work from which Voltaire, notwithstanding his strong prejudices against the author, dates the *fixation* of the French language; and of which the same excellent judge has said, 'MOLIERE'S BEST COMEDIES DO NOT EXCEL THEM IN WIT, NOR THE COMPOSITIONS OF BOSSUET IN SUBLIMITY.'"

"A considerable portion of the merit of this performance, consists in the ingenious manner in which Pascal has brought together the extravagant maxims of the principal Jesuitical writers, so as to make them appear truly ridiculous. He does not, as Voltaire, (who, otherwise, bestows upon him great praise,) insinuates, collect his citations from a few individuals, whose sentiments are unwarrantably adduced as a fair specimen of the principles of the whole society, for he uniformly appeals to the very best of their writers, and particularly to the *twenty-four* elders who were so des-

[1] The bishop of Lucon, son of the celebrated Bussy, told me, that asking one day the bishop of Meaux what work he would covet most to be the author of supposing his own performances set aside, Bossuet replied, *The Provincial Letters*. Examples of all the species of eloquence abound in them.—*Voltaire.*

[2] Supplement to Encyc. Brit. Vol. I. p. 1.

ignated on account of the entire confidence which the whole body of the Jesuits reposed in their statements. In fact, Pascal adopted no other than the usual and authorized method of obtaining the real opinions of any extensive society. If their own publications — the publications of their most eminent men; be not the proper standard of appeal, by what other means can their opinions be obtained? Besides, none of their writings were issued without the sanction of the superiors of their order."

PROVINCIAL LETTERS.—LETTER XV.

THE JESUITS OMIT CALUMNY IN THEIR CATALOGUE OF CRIMES, AND MAKE NO SCRUPLE OF USING IT AGAINST THEIR ENEMIES.

November 25, 1656.

Reverend Fathers:—As your impostures are daily increasing, and you make use of them to scandalize in so cruel a manner all persons of piety who oppose your errors, I feel myself obliged, on their account, and for the service of the church, to expose a part of your mysterious conduct, which I promised to do some time since, that it may be fully known, from your own maxims, what reliance may be placed upon your accusations and injurious conduct.

I am well aware, that persons who are not sufficiently acquainted with you, feel it extremely difficult to come to any decision upon this subject, because they are necessitated either to believe those incredible crimes of which you accuse your enemies, or to deem you impostors, which would seem equally incredible. If these things were untrue, say they, would a religious society publish them — thus resisting the dictates of conscience, and giving themselves up by such atrocious calumnies to damnation? In this manner they reason; so that obvious and striking as are the proofs by which your

falsities are exposed, yet being so diametrically opposed to the opinion they cherish of your sincerity, they are held in suspense between the evidence of the truth, which they cannot deny, and the duty of charity which they are apprehensive of violating. As, therefore, the only hindrance to their rejection of your scandal, is their respect for your character, if they should find that you really do not entertain that bad opinion of calumny, for which they give you credit, but think it to be no impediment to your salvation, no doubt the force of truth will immediately determine them to disbelieve your impositions. You see, fathers, the subject of the present letter.

It is my purpose to advance a step further than merely to show that your writings are replete with calumnious representations. Falsehoods may be stated under an impression that they are truths, but lying is characterized by the *intention* to deceive. I shall show that you design to deceive and calumniate, and that you purposely impute crimes to your enemies, of which you know that they are perfectly innocent, because you believe it may be done without falling from a state of grace. And though you may be as well acquainted as myself with this point of your morality, I shall beg permission to state it, that no further doubt may exist, by showing that I challenge you personally and individually on the subject, without even your being able to deny it, with all your assurance, unless at the same time you own that for which I reproached you. For this is a doctrine so common in your schools, that you have not only maintained it in your writings, but even in your public theses, which is an act of the utmost presumption; as for example, in that of Louvain, in the year 1645, in the following words: "It is only a venial sin to calumniate and ruin the credit of such as speak evil of you, by accusing them of false crimes, — *quidni non nisi veniale sit, detrahentis autoritatem magnam tibi noxiam falso crimine elidere?*" This doctrine is so current amongst you,

that whoever dares to attack it, you treat as an ignoramus and a stupid fellow.

Not long ago, this took place in regard to Father Quiroga, a German capuchin, who opposed this doctrine, and was immediately attacked by Father Dicastillus, who speaks of this dispute in these terms:[1] "A certain grave friar, barefooted, and deep cowled, (*cucullatus, gymnopoda,*) whose name I shall conceal, had the temerity to decry this opinion amongst some women and ignorant people, as pernicious and scandalous, contrary to good-manners, and subversive of the peace of states and societies, and opposed not only to all the catholic doctors, but to all who may become so. But I have maintained against him, and still maintain, that calumny, when made use of against a calumniator, though it be a lie, yet is not a mortal sin, nor contrary to justice or charity; and, as a demonstration of this, I furnished him with a crowd of our fathers, and whole universities whom I consulted; among others, the reverend father John Gans, confessor to the emperor; the reverend father Daniel Bastele, confessor to the Archduke Leopold; Father Henry, who was the tutor of these two princes; all the public and ordinary professors of the University of Vienna (consisting entirely of Jesuits); all the professors of the University of Gratz (all Jesuits); all the professors of the University of Prague (of which the Jesuits are masters); from all of whom, I have in my possession, a written, signed, and sealed approbation of my opinion; in addition to which, I have Father Pennalossa, a Jesuit, preacher to the emperor and the king of Spain; Father Pilliceroli, a Jesuit, and many others, who have all judged this opinion probable, previous to our dispute." You see, fathers, there are few opinions which you have taken so much pains to establish; and, in fact, there are few which are so serviceable to you. For this reason, you have impressed so much authority upon it, that your casuists have made use

[1] De Just. l. II., Tr. 2, Disp. 12, n. 404.

of it as an indubitable principle. "It is certain," says Caramuel, n. 1151, "it is a probable opinion, that it is no mortal sin to bring a false accusation for the sake of preserving one's honor: for it is maintained by upwards of twenty grave doctors, Gaspar, Hurtado, Dicastillus, etc. Hence, if this doctrine be not probable, there is scarcely any one that is so in the whole system of divinity."

O, what an execrable system is this, and how utterly corrupt in all its main points and principles,— that if this doctrine be not probable and safe in conscience, "that a person may be accused falsely in order to preserve one's honor," there is scarcely any one that is! What can be more probable, fathers, than that those who hold this principle should sometimes put it in practice? The depraved passions of mankind hurry them on with such impetuosity, that it is inconceivable, when all conscientious scruples are done away, how violently they proceed. For instance, Caramuel writes, in the same place, "This maxim of Father Dicastillus, the Jesuit, respecting calumny, was taught by a German countess to the daughter of the empress, who, believing that calumnies were but venial sins, spread abroad so many scandals and false reports every day, that the whole court was put into a state of ferment and alarm. It is easy to perceive the use they made of it; so that, to quiet this tumult, it was found necessary to apply to a good father, a capuchin, named Quiroga, of exemplary conduct (which was the reason Father Dicastillus had such a quarrel with him,) who told them plainly that this maxim was very pernicious, especially as held by women, and then took such especial care, that the empress totally abolished the practice of it."

It is by no means surprising that this doctrine should have produced some bad effects; it would have been more so had it been otherwise. Self-love is always ready to persuade us that an attack made upon ourselves is unjust; much more you, fathers, who are so blinded by vanity, that you

would make all the world believe, from your writings, that an injury attempted against your society, is an injury done to the honor of the church; and thus it would be strange, if you were not to put this maxim in practice. We must not say, as those who do not know you do, — how is it these good fathers calumniate their enemies, since it is endangering their own salvation? but we must say, on the contrary, — how is it that these good fathers would lose any opportunity of decrying their enemies, when they can do it without risking their own safety? Let us, then, no longer be astonished at finding the Jesuits calumniators: they are so with a safe conscience, and cannot be otherwise; since, by the credit they have acquired in the world, they may revile others without any apprehension from the justice of men, and by that which they have acquired in cases of conscience, they have established maxims, by which they are empowered to do as they choose, without dreading the justice of God.

Such, fathers, is the origin of so many base impostures. From this source, your father Brisacier drew, till he brought upon himself the censure of the archbishop of Paris. It was this which led your father d'Anjou, openly in the pulpit of the church of St. Benedict at Paris, on the eighth of March, 1655, to decry those persons of quality who received the subscriptions for the poor of Picardy and Champagne, to which they had so liberally contributed themselves; and to declare (which was a horrible falsehood, and enough to have destroyed all charity, had your impostures obtained any kind of credit,) "that he knew for certain that these persons had misapplied this money, to employ it against the church and state; which obliged the curate of the parish, a doctor of the Sorbonne, to preach next day, for the express purpose of confuting these calumnious representations. Your father Crasset, upon the same principle, published from the pulpit so many impostures in Orleans, which rendered

it necessary for the bishop to interdict him as a public impostor, by a mandate of the ninth of September last, in which he declares, "that he prohibits brother John Crasset, priest of the society of Jesus, from preaching in his diocese; and all the people from hearing him, under pain of being guilty of a mortal disobedience; he having been apprised that the said Crasset had delivered a discourse from the pulpit, full of falsehoods and calumnies against the clergy of that city, falsely and maliciously charging them with maintaining such heretical propositions as these — that it is impossible to keep the commandments of God — that internal grace is irresistible — and that Christ did not die for all men, with others of a similar nature, condemned by Innocent X." This, fathers, is your ordinary imposture, and the first with which you attack those whom you deem it important to decry. And though it be as impossible to prove your charges, as it is for father Crasset to substantiate his against the clergy of Orleans, your conscience is quite easy, "because you believe that this mode of detraction is so certainly allowable," that you are not afraid to declare it openly in the face of a whole city.

A remarkable instance of this occurred in your disagreement with M. Puys, a clergyman of St. Nisier, at Lyons; and, as this affair furnishes a complete illustration of your spirit, I shall relate the principal circumstances. You know, fathers, that in 1649, Mr. Puys translated an excellent work, written by another capuchin, into French, "On the duty of Christians to their own parishes, against those who wished to entice them away," — without using any invectives, and without either pointing at any religious order or individual. Your fathers, however, took it to themselves, and paying no respect to an aged pastor, a judge in the primacy of France, and much honored by the whole city, your father Alby wrote a violent philippic against him, which you yourselves sold in your own church on Assumption-day; in which, amongst

other charges, he was accused of "becoming scandalous by his gallantries, of being suspected of impiety, of being a heretic, an excommunicated person, and deserving to be burned alive." To this M. Puys replied; but father Alby, in a second publication, persisted in his former criminations. Is it not then evident, fathers, either that you must be calumniators, or that you believed all the charges brought against the good priest; and therefore that it was needful that you should have seen him fully exculpated before you deemed him worthy of your friendship? Attend now to what passed at the reconciliation, in presence of a great multitude of the most distinguished persons of the city, whose names are inserted below, in the order in which they were placed in the paper drawn up on the 25th of September, 1650.[1] In the presence of this assembly, M. Puys made no other declaration than the following; "that what he had written was not intended for the Jesuits — that he had spoken in general against those who seduce the faithful from their parishes, without at all meaning to attack their society, for which, on the contrary, he cherished a high regard." This is in itself sufficient, with regard to his apostasy, his revilings, and his excommunication, without any recantation or absolution. Father Alby afterwards addressed him in these words: "Sir, my conviction that you attacked the society to which I have the honor to belong, induced me to take up my pen to answer you, and I thought my manner of doing it was *allowable;* but having become better acquainted with your inten-

[1] M. de Ville, vicar-general of the Cardinal de Lyon; Mr. Scarron, canon and minister of St. Paul's; M. Margat, chanter; Messrs. Bouvaud, Seve, Aubert, and Dervieu, canons of St. Nisier; M. du Guê, president of the treasurers of France; M. Groslier, provost of the merchants; M. de Flechere, president and lieutenant-general; Messrs. de Boissat, de St. Romain, and de Bartoly, gentlemen; M. Burgeois, king's chief advocate in the treasury-office of France; Messrs. de Cotton, father and son; M. Boniel; who all signed the original declaration with M. Puys and Father Alby.

tion, I now declare, that there exists *nothing* which can prevent my esteeming you as a person of a very enlightened understanding, of a profound and *orthodox* faith, of *irreproachable* morals, and in one word, a worthy pastor of your church. This declaration I make with high satisfaction, and beg these gentlemen to remember it."

In truth, fathers, these gentlemen remember it perfectly well, and were more offended at your reconciliation, than at your quarrel. For who does not admire father Alby's speech? He does not say that he retracts on account of discovering M. Puys has changed his behaviour and his doctrine, but merely "because he found that it was not his intention to attack your society, so that there is nothing to prevent him from being a good catholic." He did not, therefore, believe him to be a heretic at all; nevertheless, after accusing him of it, contrary to his own convictions, he does not acknowledge his error, but dares, on the contrary, to affirm, "that he believes the manner in which he used him was *allowable*."

THE JESUITS AND THE JANSENISTS.[1]

The primary engagement of the society of Jesuits was, to defend the interests of the See of Rome; indeed it was instituted for that very purpose. But its connection with France and the house of Bourbon had become so strong and intimate, that in all the collisions which gradually arose between the interests of Rome and those of France it almost invariably took the side of the latter. The works of the Jesuits were sometimes condemned by the Inquisition at Rome, because they defended too vehemently the rights of the crown. The heads of the French Jesuits avoided all intercourse with the pope's nuncio, for fear of incurring the suspicion of ultramontane opinions. Nor in other respects had the See of Rome much reason to boast of the obedience of that order at the period in question; in the missions especially, the pope's decrees were almost always utterly disregarded.

Another of the fundamental principles of the Jesuits was, the renunciation of all worldly ties, and entire devotion to their spiritual duties. The rule that every new member should renounce all he possessed on his admission, had formerly been most strictly enforced. At first the execution of this rule was delayed for a time, and when fulfilled, it was only conditionally, because the member was always liable to expulsion; at last the custom was introduced, that a member should make over his property to the society

[1] Extract from Ranke's History of the Popes, p. 198 to 209.

itself, taking care, however, that it should always fall to the share of the particular college which he entered, so as frequently to keep the administration of it in his own hands, though under another title. It frequently happened that the members of the colleges had more leisure time than their relations, who were engaged in active life, and therefore managed their affairs, received their money, and carried on their lawsuits.

This mercantile spirit became predominant even in the colleges in their corporate character. They wished to secure to themselves the possession of wealth; and as the large donations they formerly received had ceased, they sought to effect this by means of trade. The Jesuits recognized little distinction between the cultivation of the soil, which had been practised by the earliest monks, and those commercial pursuits to which they addicted themselves. The Collegio Romano had a manufactory of cloth at Macerata, at first merely for their own use, then for all the colleges in the province, and at last for general consumption. Their agents frequented the fairs. The intimate connection subsisting between the different colleges contributed to establish a system of money-changing; thus the Portuguese minister at Rome was authorized to draw upon the Jesuits of his own country. In the colonies especially, their commercial speculations were highly successful; and the vast web of their commercial relations, the centre of which was Lisbon, extended over both continents.

This was a spirit, which, when once called into activity, necessarily affected the whole internal character of the society.

The Jesuits always formally adhered to the fundamental principle of giving gratuitous instruction. But they received presents on the entrance of any pupil, and at certain festivals — at least two in the course of the year; they were chiefly anxious to have scholars from among the rich,

who naturally deriving from their wealth a certain feeling of independence, would no longer submit to the severity of the ancient discipline. A Jesuit who raised his stick against one of his pupils, received in return a stab with a poignard, and a young man in Gubbio who thought himself treated with too much severity by the father prefecto, killed him. In Rome itself the disturbances in the Collegio furnished constant matter of conversation to the city and the palace. On one occasion the tutors were kept locked up a whole day by their scholars; and at length the rector was actually dismissed in compliance with their demands. These were among the symptoms of a univeral struggle between the ancient order of things and the new spirit; a struggle in which the latter was finally victorious. The Jesuits could no longer exercise that influence over the minds of men which they had formerly possessed.

But indeed it was no longer their aim to subjugate the world, or to imbue it with the spirit of religion. On the contrary, the spirit which once animated them had fallen before the temptations and influences of the world, and their sole endeavor now was to make themselves necessary to mankind, let the means be what they might.

To this end they not only accommodated the rules of their institute, but even the precepts of religion and morality. To the office of confession, which enabled them to exercise so immediate an influence on the most secret recesses of domestic life, they gave a direction which will be memorable to the end of time.

Of this we possess authentic and undoubted proofs. In numerous elaborate works they have stated and expounded the rules which they observed at confession and absolution, and which they prescribed to others. These rules are essentially the same as those with which they have been so often reproached. Let us endeavor to understand the leading principles, by pursuing which, they acquired such extensive power.

In confession every thing must inevitably depend upon the conception formed of transgression and of sin.

Sin they define to be a wilful departure from the commands of God.

And in what, we may further inquire, consists this wilfulness? Their answer is, in perfect knowledge of the nature of the sin committed, and in the full consent of the will to its commission.

They adopted this principle from the ambition of propounding something entirely new, combined with the desire of accommodating themselves to the common practices of mankind. With scholastic subtlety, and with a comprehensive view of the various cases falling within its scope, they carried out this principle to its most revolting consequences.

According to their doctrine, it was enough not to will the commission of sin, as such; the less the sinner thought of God, during the commission of his offence, and the more violent the passion which hurried him into its commission, the greater was the hope of pardon. Habit, or even bad example, which limit the freedom of the will, are sufficient exculpations. It is evident how infinitely the boundaries of transgression were thus narrowed; since no man loves sin for itself. They also recognized other grounds of excuse. For example, duelling is strictly prohibited by the church; nevertheless the Jesuits asserted, that if any man were in danger of being held a coward, or of losing an office or the favor of his prince, by refusing to fight a duel, he was not to be condemned for fighting. Perjury is in itself a deadly sin; but, said the Jesuits, a man who only swears outwardly, without inwardly intending what he swears, is not bound by his oath; for he does not swear, he jests.

These doctrines are to be found in works which expressly describe themselves as moderate. Who would wish now, as those times have gone by, to trace further the tortuous

aberrations of a subtlety destructive of all morality: or to explore the records of perverted acuteness in which these teachers have labored with all the ardor of literary rivalry to outdo each other? But it cannot be denied that the most repulsive maxims of individual doctors, are rendered most dangerous by another principle maintained by the Jesuits, namely, by their doctrine of probability. They maintained that it was permitted in doubtful cases to follow an opinion, of the justice of which the individual himself was not convinced — supposing always that it was defended by any author of credit; they held it not only allowable to be directed by the most indulgent teachers, they even recommended it. Scruples of conscience were to be disregarded and contemned; indeed the true way to free the mind from them, was to follow the most tolerant opinions, even if they were less safe. The secret operations of that awful tribunal which is established in the inmost depths of the heart of man, were thus changed into mere outward acts. A slight turn of the thoughts was held to exonerate from all guilt. In the manuals written by the Jesuits for the guidance of their novices, all the possible accidents of life are treated much in the same spirit as in the systems of civil law, and judged according to the gradations of their veniality; it was only necessary to refer to these books and follow the directions therein contained, without any individual conviction, to obtain the certainty of absolution from God and the church.

With a singular kind of simplicity the Jesuits themselves were sometimes astonished to find how easy the yoke of Christ was rendered by their doctrines.

12. *The Jansenists.*

It is obvious that all vitality must have been extinct in the Catholic church, if some opposition had not instantly

arisen to these most corrupting doctrines, and to the whole state of public opinion and public morals of which they were both effect and cause.

Most of the orders were already at variance with the Jesuits; the Dominicans on account of their dissent from Thomas Aquinas, the Franciscans and Capuchins on account of the exclusive power which the Jesuits claimed in the missions of further Asia: sometimes they were attacked by the bishops, whose authority they lessened; at other times by the parish priests with whose duties they interfered; even in the universities, especially in France and the Netherlands, they frequently encountered opposition. But all this desultory warfare constituted no vigorous or effective resistance, which indeed could only spring from a more profound conviction, quickened by a fresher spirit.

For the moral code of the Jesuits was in exact accordance with their theological dogmas; in both they allowed great scope to the freedom of the will.

This, however, was the very point against which was directed the most formidable opposition ever encountered by the Jesuits, the origin and progress of which were as follows.

During those years in which the disputes concerning the means of grace kept the whole body of theologians of the Catholic church in a state of constant contention, two young men, Cornelius Jansen of Holland, and Jean du Verger of Gascony, were pursuing their studies at Louvain; both of whom, actuated by an equally profound conviction, had espoused the more rigid doctrine which had never entirely disappeared at that university, and had conceived an intense hatred to the Jesuits. Du Verger was the superior in rank and fortune; he therefore took his friend with him to Bayonne. There they devoted themselves to a profound and unremitting study of the works of St. Augustine, and imbibed for the doctrines of that father of the church con-

cerning grace and freewill, an enthusiasm which decided the complexion of their whole remaining lives. While Jansenius who became professor at Louvain and bishop of Ypres, labored to restore the influence of these doctrines by theoretical, Du Verger, who was made abbot of St. Cyran, strove to accomplish the same end by practical, asceticism.

The book entitled Augustinus, in which Jansenius fully and systematically expounded his own religious creed, is most remarkable; not only as boldly assailing the moral code and religious dogmas of the Jesuits, but as making this assault for the purpose of restoring the doctrines of grace, sin, and forgiveness, which had degenerated into mere traditional formulæ, to the efficacy of a vital faith.

Jansenius sets out from the principle of the servitude of man's will; he maintains that it is taken captive and held in bonds by the desire after earthly things, and unable of its own strength to raise itself from that condition; grace must come to the assistance of the will; that grace which is not so much remission of sins, as liberation of the soul from the bonds of desire.

We now arrive at his own peculiar views. Grace, he says, is manifested by that higher and purer pleasure which was felt by the soul in godly things. The effectual grace of the Saviour is no other than a spiritual delight, by which the will is impelled to intend and to perform that which God has decreed. It is the involuntary impulse given by God to the will of man, in consequence of which he takes delight in good, and is moved to strive after its attainment. Jansenius repeatedly inculcates the maxim, that the motive to good should not be fear of punishment, but love of righteousness.

From this point he ascends to the higher question — what this righteousness is?

The answer is, God himself.

For we must not figure to ourselves God under a bodily form, nor under any image, not even that of the light; we must look upon him and love him as the Eternal Truth, from which flows all truth and wisdom; as Righteousness, not considered as a quality of the soul, but as an Idea, a supreme inviolable rule existing in the soul. The rules of our actions have their origin in the eternal law, and are a reflection of its light; whosoever loveth righteousness, loveth God.

Man does not necessarily become good by directing his mind to this or that particular virtue, but by keeping in view the one immutable supreme Good, which is truth, which is God himself. Virtue is the love of God.

In this very love consists the liberation of the will; since its inexpressible sweetness annihilates the pleasure arising from the gratification of man's evil desires; hence arises a voluntary and blissful necessity not to commit sin, but to live a good life: and this is the true freewill — a will freed from evil and exclusively determined by good.

The degree to which the dogmatical deductions in this work are developed with all the clearness of philosophical argument, in the midst of the polemical zeal of hostile discussion, is worthy of admiration: the fundamental ideas are at once moral and religious, speculative and practical; it opposes to the mere outward observances, and the relaxation of all self-discipline, of the Jesuitical system, a rigorous examination and government of the heart and mind; the ideal of a system of action proceeding from, and terminating in, the love of God.

Whilst Jansenius was still employed on this work, his friend was endeavoring to show forth in his own life, and practically to diffuse among his disciples, the ideas upon which it was founded.

St. Cyran, for thus was Du Verger called, had formed for himself in the midst of Paris a learned and ascetical her-

mitage. He endeavored by an unwearied study of the Holy Scriptures and the fathers of the church, to imbue himself with their spirit. Those peculiarities of doctrine in which he concurred with Jansenius, necessarily led him to their immediate application to the sacrament of penance. He was not satisfied with the penances enjoined by the church; he was heard to say that the church had been purer in her infancy, as streams near their source; that many of the truths of the gospel were now obscured. His demands were extremely rigorous. Lowliness, patience, dependence upon God, complete renunciation of the world, and the devotion of all the thoughts and words and deeds to the love of God — this alone would he allow to be Christianity. He had so profound a conception of the necessity of an inward change, that according to him grace must precede repentance. "When it is the will of God to save a soul, he works inwardly on the spirit; if the heart is changed and true contrition felt, every thing else follows; absolution only marks the first ray of grace: as the physician must watch and follow the movements and internal operations of nature, so must those who minister to the soul's health, the workings of grace." It was a frequent remark of his, that he had passed through the several phases of temptation and sin, to contrition, prayer, and exaltation. He communicated his thoughts to very few, and then briefly, and in a manner expressive of the serenity of his mind; but his whole soul was filled with his subject, as he always waited for a fitting opportunity and a suitable frame of mind, not alone in himself but in others, the impression he made was irresistible; his hearers frequently felt an involuntary change come over them, and burst into unlooked for tears. He soon had as proselytes some of the most distinguished men in France, among whom were Arnauld d'Andilly, who was on intimate terms with Cardinal Richelieu and Anne of Austria, and was employed in the most important affairs of state; and

his nephew Le Maître, who though remarkable for being the most eloquent speaker in the French parliament, and with the most brilliant career before him, now retired from the world into strict seclusion. Angelique Arnauld, whom we have already mentioned, and her nuns of Portroyal, attached themselves to St. Cyran with that absolute devotedness which pious women are wont to feel for their prophet.

Jansenius died before he could see his book printed; St. Cyran, immediately after his first conversions, was thrown into prison by Richelieu, who had a natural antipathy to efforts so directed and so successful; but these calamities did not check the diffusion of their doctrines.

The book of Jansenius gradually produced a deep and general impression, both from its inherent merits and from its polemical boldness. St. Cyran continued to make converts even from his prison: the unmerited sufferings which had fallen to his lot, and which he bore with the greatest resignation, increased the reverence with which he was regarded; and when he obtained his freedom by the death of Cardinal Richelieu, he was beheld as a saint, a John the Baptist. He died a few months afterwards, on the 11th of October, 1643; but he had established a school which looked upon his and Jansenius's doctrines as their gospel. "His disciples," says one of them, "go forth as young eagles from under his wings; heirs of his virtues and piety, who again transmit to others what they have received from their master. Elijah left behind him more than one Elisha who completed his work."

In endeavoring to obtain a clear view of the relation which the Jansenists bore to the predominant religious parties, we are forcibly reminded of the early protestants. They aim with the same zeal at sanctification of life; they strive with the same earnestness to reform the system of faith, by a rejection of the additions and interpolations of

the schools. But these points of resemblance are, in my opinion, very far from justifying us in pronouncing them to be a sort of unconscious protestants. The main difference, in an historical point of view, consists in this; that they voluntarily admitted a principle which protestantism from the very first utterly rejected; they remained steadily attached to the most eminent fathers of the Latin church, whose authority had been thrown off by Germany as early as the year 1523, such as St. Ambrose, St. Augustine, and St. Gregory; and even adopted some of those of the Greek church, especially St. Chrysostom. In the works of these illustrious men they thought they possessed a genuine and unadulterated tradition, from which St. Bernard had never deviated, but which, subsequent to the times of this "last of the fathers," had become obscured by the intrusion of the Aristotelic doctrines. We, therefore, find them far removed from that energetic zeal with which the protestants resorted directly to the Holy Scriptures; their consciences were satisfied with the primary formations which had become the substratum of the later system. They adhere to the maxim, that the visible church, in spite of moments of eclipse or of disfigurement, is yet of one spirit and even of one body with Christ, infallible, and immortal; they strenuously uphold the episcopal hierarchy; they have the most profound conviction that St. Augustine was inspired by God to expound to the world, in all its fulness, the doctrine of grace, which is the very essence of the new covenant; in him is to be found, according to them, the consummation of the Christian theology, which they desire to grasp at its very root, to understand to its very core, and to avoid the Pelagian errors which had often been mistaken for the opinions of St. Augustine. The spirit of Luther was awakened by Augustine, but he then resorted without hesitation or compromise to the wellspring of instruction, the Holy Scriptures, the word of God, while on the contrary, orthodox catholicism held fast

to the system matured by the lapse of centuries, in all its integrity; the Jansenists, on the other hand, seek to enforce the creed of Augustine as such; — as comprehending all that had gone before, and as laying the foundation of all that was to come after. Protestantism rejects tradition; Catholicism clings to it; Jansenism seeks to purify it, and to reëstablish it in its primitive form and authenticity, and thus hopes to effect the regeneration both of life and doctrine.

A company of persons of some consideration, who embraced these opinions, soon assembled in the hermitage of Portroyal des Champs, whither Le Maître had originally retired.

At first indeed the circle was very limited, consisting principally of members and friends of the Arnauld family. Le Maître induced four of his brothers to join him. Their mother, from whom they had imbibed their religious sentiments, was by birth an Arnauld; Arnauld d'Andilly was the oldest friend of St. Cyran, who bequeathed his heart to him, and after a time he too joined the company; his youngest brother, Antoine Arnauld, was the author of the first considerable work in defence of their opinions. Many other relations and friends soon followed their example. The convent also of Portroyal at Paris was almost exclusively in the hands of that family; Andilly relates that his mother, who retired thither at the close of her life, beheld around her twelve daughters and granddaughters. It may not be superfluous to mention that the expulsion of the Jesuits from Paris in the year 1594, had been mainly owing to the potent and brilliant eloquence of an elder Antoine Arnauld, from whom all these were descended. Antipathy to the Jesuits appeared to be hereditary in the race.

This narrow circle of friends, however, was soon largely extended.

Many joined them, who had no other connection but that

of similarity of opinions; Singlin, a disciple of St. Cyran, and an eminent preacher at Paris, was especially active in the cause. He was remarkable for the peculiarity, that whereas in the common intercourse of life he expressed himself with difficulty, he no sooner ascended the pulpit than he displayed the most overpowering eloquence. His most zealous followers were sent to Portroyal, where they were cordially welcomed. They were chiefly young ecclesiastics, and learned men, rich merchants, men of the highest families, physicians who had already acquired a station in the world, and members of various religious orders; in short, all of them were men who were induced to take this step from inward impulse and sincere conviction.

In this retreat, which may be likened to a convent held together by no vows, many religious exercises were performed; the churches were zealously attended; prayers were frequently offered up both in company and in solitude; agricultural pursuits, or some handicraft, were followed by the members; but they chiefly devoted their time to letters; the religious society of Portroyal was likewise a sort of literary academy.

Whilst the Jesuits were hoarding up learning in huge folios, or were losing themselves in the mazes of the revolting subtleties of an artificial system of morals and dogmas, the Jansenists addressed themselves to the nation.

They began by translating the Holy Scriptures, the fathers of the church, and Latin prayerbooks; they happily avoided the old Frankish forms which had till now been so prejudicial to the popularity of all works of that kind, and expressed themselves with an attractive clearness of style. The establishment of a seminary at Portroyal led them to compose school-books on the ancient and modern languages, logic, and geometry, which emanating from minds not trammelled by antiquated forms, contained new methods, the merits of which have been universally admitted. They

also published polemical writings, the acuteness and precision of which confounded their enemies; or works of the profoundest piety, such as "Les Heures de Portroyal," which were received with the utmost eagerness, and were as new and as much in request, after the lapse of a century, as on the first day of their appearance. Men of the lofty genius and the profound science of Pascal, of the poetical originality and perfection of Racine, and of the wide range of knowledge of Tillemont were formed within their walls. Their labors extended, as we see, far beyond the circle of ascetic theology which Jansen and Du Verger had traced. It would not be too much to assert, that this union of men of high intellect, and filled with noble objects, who, in their mutual intercourse, and by their original and unassisted efforts gave rise to a new tone of expression and a new method of communicating ideas, had a most remarkable influence on the whole form and character of the literature of France, and hence of Europe; and that the literary splendor of the age of Louis XIV. may be in part ascribed to the society of Portroyal.

It was impossible that the spirit which had given birth to all these productions should not penetrate the whole nation; adherents arose in all quarters, especially among the parish priests, who had long regarded with detestation the mode of confession practised by the Jesuits. Sometimes it appeared — for instance in the time of Cardinal Retz — as if the Jansenists were about to make converts among the higher clergy; and some important offices were actually distributed among them. We soon find them not only in the Netherlands and in France; but even in Spain they had some partisans, and in the time of Innocent X. a Jansenist preacher publicly promulgated his doctrines in Rome.

EXTRACT FROM PREFACE

TO EXPOSITION OF THE NEW TESTAMENT BY MATTHEW HENRY.

UNSUCCESSFUL EFFORTS OF THE JANSENISTS TO CIRCULATE THE NEW TESTAMENT.

"FATHER Quesnel, a French papist but a Jansenist, published the New Testament in French, in several small volumes, with moral reflections on every verse, to render the reading of it more profitable, and meditation upon it more easy. It was much esteemed in France, for the sake of the piety and devotion which appeared in it, and it had several impressions. The Jesuits were much disgusted, and solicited the pope for the condemnation of it, though the author of it was a papist, and many things in it countenanced popish superstition.

After much struggling about it in the Court of Rome, a bull was at length obtained, at the request of the French king, from the present pope, Clement XI., bearing date September 8, 1713, by which the said book, with what title or in what language soever it is printed, is prohibited and condemned; both the New Testament itself, because in many things varying from the vulgar Latin, and the Annotations, as containing divers propositions (above a hundred are enumerated) scandalous and pernicious, injurious to the church and its customs, impious, blasphemous, savoring of heresy. And the propositions are such as these: "That the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ is the effectual principle of all manner of good, is necessary for every good action; for without it nothing is done, nay, nothing can be done."

"That it is a sovereign grace, and is an operation of the Almighty hand of God." "That when God accompanies his word with the internal power of his grace, it operates in the soul the obedience which it demands." "That faith is the first grace, and the fountain of all others." "That it is in vain for us to call God our Father, if we do not cry to him with the spirit of love." "That there is no God, nor religion, where there is no charity." "That the Catholic church comprehends the angels and all the elect and just men of the earth, of all ages." "That it has the word incarnate for its head, and all the saints for its members." "That it is profitable and necessary at all times, in all places, and for all sorts of persons, to know the Holy Scriptures." "That the holy obscurity of the word of God is no reason for the laity not reading it." "That the Lord's day ought to be sanctified by reading books of piety, especially the Holy Scriptures." And "that to forbid Christians from reading the Scriptures, is to prohibit the use of light to the children of light." Many such positions as these, which the spirit of every good Christian cannot but relish as true and good, are condemned by the Pope's bull as impious and blasphemous. And this bull, though strenuously opposed by a great number of the bishops in France who were well affected to the notions of Father Quesnel, was yet received and confirmed by the French king's letters patent, bearing date at Versailles, February 14, 1714, which forbid all manner of persons, upon pain of exemplary punishment, so much as to keep any of those books in their houses; and adjudge any that should hereafter write in defence of the propositions condemned by the pope, as disturbers of the peace.

EXTRACT FROM D'ISRAELI'S CURIOSITIES OF LITERATURE.[1]

THE PORTROYAL SOCIETY.

Every lover of letters has heard of this learned society, which, says Gibbon, contributed so much to establish in France a taste for just reasoning, simplicity of style, and philosophical method. Their "logic, or the art of thinking," for its lucid, accurate, and diversified matter, is still an admirable work; notwithstanding the writers at that time had to emancipate themselves from the barbarism of the scholastic logic with cautious boldness. It was the conjoint labor of Arnauld and Nicolle. Europe has benefited by the labors of these learned men: but not many have attended to the origin and dissolution of this literary society.

In the year 1637, Le Maître, a celebrated advocate, resigned the bar, and the honor of being *Conseiller d' Etat*, which his uncommon merit had obtained him, though then only twenty-eight years of age. His brother, De Sericourt, who had followed the military profession, quitted it at the same time. Consecrating themselves to the service of God, they retired into a small house near *the Portroyal* of Paris, where they were joined by their brothers De Sacy, De St. Elme, and De Valmont. Arnauld, one of their

[1] Page 27.

most illustrious associates, was induced to enter into the Jansenist controversy, and then it was they encountered the powerful persecution of the Jesuits. Constrained to remove from that spot, they fixed their residence at a few leagues from Paris, and called it *Portroyal des Champs.*

With these illustrious recluses many distinguished persons now retired, who had given up their parks and houses to be appropriated to their schools; and this community was called *the Society of Portroyal.*

Here were no rules, no vows, no constitution, and no cells formed. Prayer, and study, and manual labor were their only occupations. They applied themselves to the education of youth, and raised up little academies in the neighborhood, where the members of the Portroyal, the most illustrious names of literary France, presided. None considered his birth entitled him to any exemption from their public offices, relieving the poor and attending on the sick, and employing themselves in their farms and gardens; they were carpenters, ploughmen, gardeners, and vine-dressers, etc., as if they had practised nothing else; they studied physic, and surgery, and law; in truth, it seems that from religious motives, these learned men attempted to form a community of primitive Christianity.

The Duchess of Longueville, once a political chief, sacrificed her ambition on the altar of Portroyal, enlarged the monastic enclosure with spacious gardens and orchards, built a noble house, and often retreated to its seclusion. The learned D'Andilly, the translator of Josephus, after his studious hours, resorted to the cultivation of fruit-trees; and the fruit of Portroyal became celebrated for its size and flavor. Presents were sent to the Queen-Mother of France, Anne of Austria, and Cardinal Mazarine, who used to call it "Frutti beni." It appears that "families of rank, affluence, and piety, who did not wish entirely to give up their avocations in the world, built themselves country-houses in

the valley of Portroyal, in order to enjoy the society of its religious and literary inhabitants."

In the solitude of Portroyal, *Racine* received his education; and, on his death-bed desired to be buried in its cemetery, at the feet of his master, Hamon. Arnauld, persecuted, and dying in a foreign country, still cast his lingering looks on this beloved retreat, and left the society his heart, which was there inurned.

Anne de Bourbon, a princess of the blood royal, erected a house near the Portroyal, and was, during her life, the powerful patroness of these solitary and religious men; but her death in 1679, was the fatal stroke which dispersed them for ever.

The envy and the fears of the Jesuits, and their rancor against Arnauld, who with such ability had exposed their designs, occasioned the destruction of the Portroyal Society. *Exinanite, exinanite usque ad fundamentum in ae!* Annihilate it, annihilate it, to its very foundations! Such are the terms in the Jesuitic decree. The Jesuits had long called the little schools of Portroyal the hotbeds of heresy. Gregoire, in his interesting memoir of "Ruins of Portroyal," has drawn an affecting picture of that virtuous society, when the Jesuits obtained by their intrigues an order from government to break it up. They razed the buildings, and ploughed up the very foundation; they exhausted their hatred even on the stones, and profaned even the sanctuary of the dead; the corpses were torn out of their graves, and dogs were suffered to contend for the rags of their shrouds. When the Portroyal had no longer an existence, the memory of that asylum of innocence and learning was still kept alive by those who collected the engravings representing that place by Mademoiselle Hortemels.

EXTRACT FROM SEYMOUR'S MORNINGS AT ROME WITH THE JESUITS.[1]

"My clerical friend, after a pause, which I was unwilling to break, lest I should express myself as strongly as I felt, resumed the conversation, and said, that the worship of the Virgin Mary was a growing worship in Rome; that it was increasing in depth and intenseness of devotion; and that there were now many of their divines, and he spoke of himself as agreeing with them in sentiment, who were teaching that as a woman brought in death, so a woman was to bring in life; that as a woman brought in sin, so a woman was to bring in holiness; that as Eve brought in damnation, so Mary was to bring in salvation; and that the effect of this opinion was largely to increase the reverence and worship given to the Virgin Mary.

"I said that I had read something of the kind, and also that I had seen a sort of parallel in some of the Fathers on the subject, but that it did not go so far as the modern opinion. But in order not to misunderstand him, and to prevent any mistake as to his views, I asked whether I was to understand him as implying that, as we regard Eve as the first sinner, so we are to regard Mary as the first Saviour; one as the author of sin, and the other as the author of the remedy.

"He replied that such was precisely the view he wished to express, and he added that it was taught by St. Alphonso de Liguori, and was a growing opinion. He seemed to think, from my seriousness of manner, that he had made an

[1] Seymour, p. 44–46.

impression on me very different from the reality, for I was deeply grieved at his statement, in which there was not the least allusion to Christ. Mary seemed to be substituted for Christ.

"I felt that he had gone very far, but I also felt he had not gone further than my own impressions as to the religion of Italy, so far as I had seen it. I therefore took the opportunity of saying what otherwise I would have been unwilling to express. I introduced it by some courteous and apologetic expressions, to prevent his taking any offence, and assured him I felt happy in being able to speak my mind to one so capable of understanding and appreciating my feelings, and I prayed him not to be offended at my freedom. I then stated, with all the seriousness the subject demanded, and all the solemnity I could command, that, from all I had observed of the religion of Italy, whether as exhibited in the churches, displayed in processions, or expressed in private; whether as exhibited in the forms of prayer, in the object of worship, in the books of devotion, or in the conversation of the people, it appeared to me to be characterized by one great feature, which forced itself unceasingly on my mind. It seemed to me that all tended to the honor of Mary rather than to the honor of Christ; and that this seemed to me to be carried to such an extreme, that I felt in my calm and sober judgment that the religion of Italy ought to be called *the religion of Mary* rather than *the religion of Christ!* I again apologized for so strong an opinion, but added that, feeling strongly on the point, I wished to express myself with a frankness and sincerity, which I hoped he would excuse.

"I watched anxiously to see the impression of my words; I feared that, as they would have elicited a burst of indignation, real or affected, among the Romanists of England or of Ireland, so they might possibly cause some offence even in Italy; but it was far otherwise. He seemed quite un-

moved, as if he received my words as a matter of course — as expressing something very natural and of no unfrequent occurrence. His reply was made with perfect ease and entire frankness.

"He stated that my impression was very natural; that such was really the appearance of things; that, coming from Germany, where Christ on the cross was the ordinary object of veneration, into Italy, where the Virgin Mary was the universal object of reverence, it was no more than natural such an impression should have been created; that such an impression was very much the reality of the case; and that, to his own knowledge, the religion of Italy was latterly becoming less and less the religion of Christ; and that "the devotion to the most Holy Virgin," as he called it, was certainly on the increase.

"I was perfectly startled, not, indeed, at the statement itself, for it was too palpably true to escape the observation of any one, but that a man, a minister of Christianity, should describe such a state of things with the manifest approval he exhibited."

EFFECTS AND TENDENCY OF THE ROMAN CATHOLIC RELIGION.[1]

It is evident, that the papacy hath devoured all the privileges and rights of all orders in the church, either granted by God, or established in the ancient canons.

The royalties of Peter are become immense; and, consistently to his practice, the pope doth allow men to tell him to his face, that all power in heaven and in earth is given unto him.

It belongeth to him to judge of the whole church.

He hath a plenitude (as he calleth it) of power, by which he can infringe any law, or do any thing that he pleaseth.

It is the tenor of his bulls, that whoever rashly dareth to thwart his will shall incur the indignation of Almighty God, and (as if that were not enough) of St. Peter and St. Paul also.

No man must presume to tax his faults, or to judge of his judgment.

It is idolatry to disobey his commands, against their own sovereign lord.

There are who dare in plain terms call him omnipotent, and who ascribe infinite power to him. And that he is infallible is the most common and plausible opinion: so that at Rome the contrary is erroneous, and within an inch of being heretical.

We are now told, that "if the pope should err by enjoin-

[1] An extract from a Treatise on the Pope's Supremacy, by Dr. Barrow, vol. 7, p. 290.

ing vices or forbidding virtues, the church should be bound to believe vices to be good, and virtues evil, unless it would sin against conscience."

The greatest princes must stoop to his will; otherwise he hath power to cashier and depose them.

Now what greater inconvenience, what more horrible iniquity can there be, than that all God's people (that free people, who are called to freedom) should be subject to so intolerable a yoke and miserable a slavery?

That tyranny soon had crept into the Roman church Socrates telleth us.

They have rendered true that definition of Scioppius: "The church is a stall, or herd, or multitude of beasts, or asses."

They bridle us, they harness us, they spur us, they lay yokes and laws upon us.

The greatest tyranny that ever was invented in the world is the pretence of infallibility: for Dionysius and Phalaris did leave the mind free, (pretending only to dispose of body and goods according to their will): but the pope, not content to make us do and say what he pleaseth, will have us also to think so; denouncing his imprecations and spiritual menaces, if we do not.

Such an authority will inevitably produce a depravation of Christian doctrine, by distorting it in accommodation of it to the promoting its designs and interests. It will blend Christianity with worldly notions and policies.

It certainly will introduce new doctrines, and interpret the old ones so as may serve to the advancement of the power, reputation, pomp, wealth, and pleasure, of those who manage it, and of their dependents.[1]

[1] The immaculate conception is one of these "new doctrines." The Abbe Laborde, of the Diocese of Auch in France, has published a work "On the impossibility of the Immaculate Conception as an article of Faith," which has passed through three editions in France, and

That which is called καπηλεύειν τὸν λόγον τοῦ Θεοῦ, to make a trade of religion will be the great work of the teachers of the church. It will turn all divines into mercenary, slavish, designing flatterers.

This we see come to pass, Christianity by the papal influence being from its original simplicity transformed into quite another thing than it was; from a divine philosophy designed to improve the reason, to moderate the passions, to correct the manners of men, to prepare men for conversation with God and angels, modelled to a system of politic devices, (of notions, of precepts, of rites,) serving to exalt and enrich the pope, with his court and adherents, clients and vassals.

What doctrine of Christian theology, as it is interpreted by their schools, hath not a direct aspect, or doth not squint that way? especially according to the opinions passant and in vogue among them.

To pass over those concerning the pope, (his universal pastorship, judgeship in controversies, power to call councils, presidency in them, superiority over them; right to confirm or annul them; his infallibility; his double sword, and dominion (direct or indirect) over princes; his dispensing in laws, in oaths, in vows, in matrimonial cases, with all other the

been republished in a translation by Hooker of Philadelphia. In this he demonstrates that in the days of Thomas Aquinas, the doctrine was not held in the schools, that it took its rise in the time of St. Bernard, and that the friends of the immaculate conception are witnesses to its modern origin and progress. He exposes the anti-Christian code of morality of modern Rome, and asks, "why should it surprise us, then, that the men who have destroyed the practice of primitive morality, should balance their work by the introduction of a new faith," and urges, in a Catholic tone, "that the opinion of the immaculate conception cannot be established as a dogma, and proposed as an article of belief, without shaking the foundations of religion." He has consequently been removed, and his book placed on the index of prohibited works.

monstrous prerogatives, which the sound doctors of Rome, with encouragement of that chair, do teach).

What doth the doctrine concerning the exempting of the clergy from secular jurisdiction, and immunity of their goods from taxes signify, but their entire dependence on the pope, and their being closely tied to his interests?

What is the exemption of monastical places from the jurisdiction of bishops, but listing so many soldiers and advocates to defend and advance the papal empire?

What meaneth the doctrine concerning that middle region of souls, or cloister of purgatory, whereof the pope holdeth the keys; opening and shutting it at his pleasure, by dispensation of pardons and indulgences; but that he must be master of the people's condition, and of their purse?

What meaneth the treasure of merits and supererogatory works, whereof he is the steward, but a way of driving a trade, and drawing money from simple people to his treasury?

Whither doth the entangling of folks in perpetual vows tend, but to assure them in a slavish dependence on their interests, eternally, without evasion or remedy; except by favorable dispensation from the pope?

Why is the *opus operatum* in sacraments taught to confer grace, but to breed a high opinion of the priest, and all he doth?

Whence did the monstrous doctrine of transubstantiation (urged with so furious zeal) issue, but from design to magnify the credit of those, who by saying of a few words can make our God and Saviour? and withal to exercise a notable instance of their power over men, in making them to renounce their reason and senses?

Whither doth tend the doctrine concerning the mass being a propitiatory sacrifice for the dead, but to engage men to leave in their wills good sums to offer in their behalf?

Why is the cup withholden from the laity, but to lay it low by so notable a distinction, in the principal mystery of our religion, from the priesthood?

Why is saying private mass (or celebrating the communion in solitude) allowed, but because priests are paid for it, and live by it?

At what doth the doctrine concerning the necessity of auricular confession aim, but that thereby the priests may have a mighty awe on the consciences of all people, may dive into their secrets, may manage their lives as they please?

And what doth a like necessary particular absolution intend, but to set the priest in a lofty state of authority above the people, as a judge of his condition and dispenser of his salvation?

Why do they equal ecclesiastical traditions with Scripture, but that on the pretence of them they may obtrude whatever doctrines advantageous to their designs?

What drift hath the doctrine concerning the infallibility of churches or councils, but that, when opportunity doth invite, he may call a company of bishops together to establish what he liketh, which ever after must pass for certain truth, to be contradicted by none; so enslaving the minds of all men to his dictates, which always suit to his interest.

What doth the prohibition of Holy Scripture drive at, but a monopoly of knowledge to themselves, or a detaining of people in ignorance of truth and duty; so that they must be forced to rely on them for direction, must believe all they say, and blindly submit to their dictates; being disabled to detect their errors, or contest their opinions?

Why must the sacraments be celebrated, and public devotions exercised, in an unknown tongue, but that the priests may seem to have a peculiar interest in them, and ability for them?

Why must the priesthood be so indispensably forbidden marriage, but that it may be wholly untacked from the State, and rest addicted to him, and governable by him;

that the persons and wealth of priests may be purely at his devotion?

To what end is the clogging religion by multiplication of ceremonies and formalities, but to amuse the people, and maintain in them a blind reverence toward the interpreters of the dark mysteries couched in them; and by seeming to encourage an exterior show of piety (or form of godliness) to gain reputation and advantage, whereby they might oppress the interior virtue and reality of it, as the Scribes and Pharisees did, although with less designs?

Why is the veneration of images and relics, the credence of miracles and legends, the undertaking of pilgrimages and voyages to Rome, and other places, more holy than ordinary; sprinklings of holy water, consecrations of baubles, (with innumerable foppish knacks and trinkets,) so cherished; but to keep the people in a slavish credulity and dotage, apt to be led by them whither they please, by any sleeveless pretence, and in the meanwhile to pick various gains from them by such trade?

What do all such things mean, but obscuring the native simplicity of Christianity, whereas it being represented intelligible to all men, would derogate from that high admiration, which these men pretend to from their peculiar and profound wisdom? And what would men spend for these toys, if they understood they might be good Christians, and get to heaven without them?

What doth all that pomp of religion serve for, but for ostentation of the dignity of those who administer it? It may be pretended for the honor of religion, but it really conduceth to the glory of the priesthood, who shine in those pageantries.

Why is monkery (although so very different from that which was in the ancient times) so cried up as a superlative state of perfection, but that it filleth all places with swarms of lusty people, who are vowed servants to him, and have

little else to do but to advance that authority by which they subsist in that dronish way of life?

In fine, perusing the controversies of Bellarmine, or any other champion of Romanism, do but consider the nature and scope of each doctrine maintained by them; and you may easily discern, that scarce any of them but doth tend to advance the interests of the pope, or of his sworn vassals.[1]

[1] The Romish Hierarchy in this country are usually very guarded in their language as to the papal power, but occasionally when their ardor is kindled, let fall expressions which betray their views, purposes, and secret aspirations. Thus the Chaplain of the Bishop of Boston, after finding it, "an unspeakable privilege" to kneel and kiss with devout fervor, the feet of Pius IX., in his apostrophe to Rome asserts: "That Rome is full of life, and still acts, decrees, and commands with all the energy and vivacity of her youth. When she lifts her arm to strike, the haughtiest monarchs quail, she wields an influence even over the empires that affect to hold her in derision more potent than that of all the powers of Christendom." "She will finally triumph." "Clothed with glory and radiant with light, will behold her enemies at her feet, suppliants for mercy and pardon." — Haskin's Travels in Italy. Boston, A. D. 1856, p. 52, 58, and 100.

CONVERSION OF THE BRITONS BY ST. PAUL OR HIS IMMEDIATE CONVERTS.

In my letter upon the Episcopal Church, I gave but a portion of the proof that the first churches in Britain were founded by St. Paul. The whole evidence upon this subject is ancient, and the ancient writers, while they concede the conversion of Britain at a very early period, furnish evidence that it was commenced by St. Paul. Much of the testimony on this point is collected by Stillingfleet and Burgess in their works on the antiquities of the British churches, which may be found on the shelves of the Sears' library in Boston, a very valuable collection.

While St. Peter is generally described by the fathers, as the apostle of the circumcised, St. Paul is uniformly treated as the great apostle to the Gentiles; and it is shown by the evidence of Eusebius and St. Jerome, that St. Paul was taken prisoner to Rome, between the second and seventh years of Nero, and was not executed there until the fourteenth year of his reign, A. D. 67 to 68.

We learn from St. Luke, that he abode in Rome but two years, and he was consequently at liberty to enter other regions, from some period between the fourth and ninth years of Nero. And for a subsequent period of five or ten years, had ample time to visit Britain.

St. Clement, the associate of St. Paul and third bishop of Rome, in his beautiful letter *in Greek* to the Christians in

Corinth, to which I have already referred, says of St. Paul, "that having taught righteousness to the *whole world*, having reached the *utmost limit* (*or extremity*) of the west, and borne a martyr's testimony before the rulers, he had left the world and gone to the holy place, the greatest exemplar of patient suffering."

St. Clement here assures us that St. Paul had taught righteousness to the *whole world*. But down to the period of his release at Rome, we hear of him only in Asia, on the borders of Africa, in Southern Europe, and the Isles of the Mediterranean. Gaul, Spain, and Britain, still remained as fields for his enterprise, to complete his task, and to verify the language of Clement.

The phrase "Extremity of the West," or in the Greek of Clement, τερμα της δυσεως, is peculiarly significant, when used by a bishop of Rome, and cannot be construed to mean Italy itself, (as Lingard suggests,) when it comes from the mouth of a Roman. To the Romans, Rome was the central seat of government, the centre of the world, surrounded by her provinces of Gaul, Spain, Britain, Germany, Greece, Thrace, Asia Minor, Asia, and Africa. To Rome and the Roman, Britain, the last conquest of Cæsar, was the extremity of the West, and after the invasion of Cæsar, Britain is thus described by the leading authors and geographers of Rome. One writes of Britain:—

"Et penitus toto divisis orbe Britannis."

Horace writes:—

"Ultimos orbis Britannos."

Catullus:—

"Ultimam occidentis insulam."

The same author again writes:—

"Ultimosque Britannos."

Venantius Fortunatus, also writes that St. Paul —

"Stylus ille,[1]
Transit et oceanum vel quae facit Insula portum,
Quasque Britannus habet terras, quasque ultima Thule."

Arnobius, too, in defining the bounds of the gospel east and west, mentions the Indians for the east, and the Britons for the west.

But this is not the only evidence. St. Paul had finished his mission at the east, had carried the Gospel into southern Europe, been imprisoned and released at the capital city of the empire, and was now ready to embark upon his mission into other countries; he had taken his final leave of his converts in the east, just before his imprisonment, when accompanied by Christians from Berea, Thessalonica, and Derbe, and other cities of Asia, he came to Ephesus, and sending for the elders of the church, took his solemn leave of all of them, saying, "that I know that ye all among whom I have gone, preaching the kingdom of God, shall see my face no more." "And they all wept sore, and fell on Paul's neck and kissed him, sorrowing most of all for the words which he spake, that they should see his face no more."[2] Thence he passed through Phœnicia to Jerusalem, and thence, chained to a soldier, to Rome.

The question naturally arises, where was St. Paul during the long period which elapsed between his release and his

[1] Linguard translates "Stylus ille," that "epistle," but the literal translation of "stylus" is a pillar; and if we give it that signification, then Fortunatus assures us that St. Paul, that pillar (of the churches) crossed the ocean to Britain.

Had he meant Epistle, he would doubtless have used *ejus* instead of *ille*.

St. Chrysostom, in the third century, calls St. Paul "a pillar of the churches through the world ὁ στύλος τῶν κατὰ τὴν οἰκουμένην ἐκκλησιῶν," and uses the Greek *stulos*, from which the Latins derive "stylus," to signify a "pillar." — Chrysostom in John 1 : 1.

[2] Acts 20 : 4, 25, 38.

martyrdom? He had passed from city to city, and from nation to nation, in preceding years.

Was the great apostle idle during the years that ensued? Such was not the belief of the ancient fathers;[1] they say he was employed in the *west*, and such is conceded to have been the common and received opinion of antiquity, by one of the ablest critics.[2]

Not only had St. Paul time and opportunity for visiting Britain, but Britain itself offered at this period an inviting harvest. Not only do we learn from Cæsar that it was very populous, but its mines of tin and copper had made it the resort of merchants, and we learn from Tacitus that it had been subdued under Claudius, and Roman colonies had been established at London and other commercial or military stations. A way had thus been opened for the onward march of Christianity.

But there were other reasons to induce St. Paul to visit Britain. In his epistles[3] he mentions several distinguished Britons, who were his friends and associates. He refers for instance to *Linus*, subsequently the first bishop of Rome, a prince of Britain, probably one of the saints in the household of Cæsar, mentioned by St. Paul. He refers also to a British lady of distinguished rank, and to her husband Pudens, who had served in Britain. These were his acquaintances, and doubtless his converts. The lady was Claudia, the Christian wife of Pudens, the son of a senator, and Martial in his poems proves that she was a Briton.

> "Claudia Rufe meo nubit peregrina Pudenti,
> Claudia coeruleis cum sit Rufina Britannis."
>
> "Claudia, O Rufus, a foreigner, married my Pudens,
> Claudia among the blue-eyed Britons, our Rufina."

This blue-eyed lady of Britain, commended by Martial

[1] Stillingfleet, p. 40.
[2] L. Capell ad. hist. Apo. p. 29.
[3] Philippians 4: 22.

for her wit and beauty, had won the affections of a Roman patrician.[1]

As the question whether St. Paul could have planted the church in Britain, turns in part upon the date of his arrival in Rome, let us briefly review the evidence on the subject.

If he had arrived so late as A. D. 61, and been released, as some critics suggest, two years afterwards, he would, even then, have had five years for his mission; but if he arrived as early as A. D. 56, he would have had at least ten years remaining to preach the Gospel in the west, and it is not easy to account for this long interval except upon the theory of a journey to Spain and Britain.

The great majority of both ancient and modern historians and critics, including Eusebius, St. Jerome, Bede, Ivo,[2] Platina, Capellus, Petavius, Scaliger, Stillingfleet, and Burgess, adopt the year 56 of the Christian era for the visit of St. Paul to Rome.[3]

The modern critics rely principally upon the authority of the great historian Tacitus, and corroborative evidence. And the proof, although questioned by Weiseler, Hales, Conybeare, and Howson, who rely upon a mission of Josephus to Rome, to prove a later period for the visit, appears to me conclusive. Tacitus and Josephus were contemporaries; both were young when St. Paul was sent prisoner to Rome. They composed their histories after the destruction of Jerusalem, and did not publish them for forty years after the accession of Nero.

But Tacitus resided in Rome, was of consular rank, had access to the public archives, and his dates are usually reliable. Josephus, on the contrary, had no such advantages;

[1] Claudia is referred to as a Christian, 2 Tim. 4: 21.

[2] "Imperii sui (Neronis) anno secundo Festum procuratorem fecit." Chronicon Ivonis, apud corpus Franciae Historiae Veteris.

[3] Bishop Burgess' Tract on the British church, p. 25 and 184.

he was a Roman prisoner during the siege of Jerusalem, and after the ruin of that city and the devastation of his country, died a provincial.

His dates are not exact, and they sometimes conflict with the dates of Scripture, while one or two passages in his history confirm the dates of Tacitus; and did the question turn upon conflicting dates alone, in the works of the two historians, the position and general accuracy of Tacitus would be decisive in his favor.

A close analysis, however, makes it easy to reconcile their discrepancies, and to show that there is no serious conflict between them.

The visit of St. Paul to Rome was immediately preceded by the recall of Felix, for St. Paul did not commence his voyage until he had been heard by Festus, the new governor of Judæa. If then we can determine the date of the recall of Felix, we thereby determine the date of the visit of St. Paul.

The critics, who assign a later period, or A. D. 61, for his recall, draw their conclusions from the fact that Josephus was born A. D. 36, and was sent on a mission to Rome in his twenty-sixth year, to procure the release of some Jewish priests, sent thither as prisoners by Felix, and succeeded in his mission by the aid of Poppoea. They rely also on a further statement of Josephus, that Felix was accused by the Jews after his recall, and released by the intervention of Pallas, then high in favor with Nero.

And on the additional observation of Josephus, that Felix was appointed procurator of Judæa in the thirteenth year of Claudius,[1] which corresponds to the year 53 of the Christian era.

Arguing from these facts, such critics draw the inference that Josephus visited Rome A. D. 62,[2] and that if Felix was

[1] Annals of Josephus, xx. 8 and 9.

[2] If Josephus was born A. D. 36, and went to Rome at the age of twenty-six, he must have gone thither A. D. 62.

made governor of Judæa as late as A. D. 53, he could not have been recalled as early as A. D. 56, for there would not have been space in the interval for the various events which occurred under his administration. And they ask, if Felix had been less than three years ruler of Judæa, how could St. Paul have said to him at his trial, "I know thou hast been for many years a judge unto this nation."[1] Arriving at the conclusion that he could not for these reasons have left Judæa as early as A. D. 56, they consequently infer that he had arrived at Rome in A. D. 62, when Josephus reached the capital.

This argument is by no means conclusive, and is most successfully assailed by those who assign A. D. 56 for the visit of St. Paul. They rely upon Tacitus, and it seems to me no arduous task to reconcile the two historians.

Felix was a manumitted slave, the brother of the freedman Pallas, who, as the favorite of Claudius, amassed a fortune of three hundred millions of sesterces.[2]

This brother stood high in favor during the first year of Nero. We may judge of his arrogance and power, from the reply he made when charged by a slave with conspiracy, "that he never spoke to such people, but like the emperor, signified his commands by a gesture or in writing."

Tacitus informs us that in the office (of treasurer) which he had received under Claudius, he assumed to be the absolute master of the empire, and was dismissed in disgrace A. D. 56, in the second year of Nero.[3] Tacitus, in his annals of A. D. 52, the thirteenth year of Claudius, after describing the ostentatious refusal by Pallas of a gift of thirty millions of sesterces, offered him by the senate, observes, "that his brother, surnamed Felix, for *some time governor of Judæa* acted not with the same moderation, but relying on such powerful protection, supposed he might per-

[1] Acts 24 : 10. [2] Nearly fourteen millions of dollars.
[3] Tacitus' Annals, B. xiii. c. 14.

petrate with impunity every description of crime," and adds, "that he was emulated in his abandoned courses by Ventidius Cumanus, who held part of the province, the division being such that *Galilee* was subject to *Cumanus*, and *Samaria* to *Felix*." [1] He also informs us in the same chapter, "that Claudius gave a commission to Quadratus, governor of Syria, to try and sentence the governors, but that Quadratus took Felix by the hand, placed him on the tribunal among the judges, to awe his accusers, so that Cumanus alone was doomed for the crimes of both, and thereby the tranquillity of the province was restored." [2]

Thus we learn from the great historian, that the licentious Felix, "who displayed the power of a king with the temper of a slave," was in A. D. 52 dependent on Pallas, the treasurer and ruler of the empire, that he had *been for some time* governor of the province of Judæa, which comprised both Samaria and Galilee, and that Galilee was assigned to Cumanus.

These facts are reconcilable with the passage in Josephus, that A. D. 53, Felix became procurator of Judæa, for upon the deposition of Cumanus he then took charge of Galilee as well as Samaria, and became ruler of all Judæa, although his commission to govern the province must have been prior to A. D. 50, and he must before that date have commenced his rule in Samaria, while he suffered Cumanus to rule in Galilee. It appears also from the annals of Rome, that the average term of office of the governors of Judæa for half a century preceding, was but four years, and St. Paul might well say, in A. D. 56, to a Roman ruler, seven or eight years in office, "I know that thou hast been for many years a judge unto this nation."

[1] Ibid. B. xii. c. 54.

[2] Josephus admits that Cumanus had taken part in a conflict in the Province, and been arrested and banished before the twelfth year of Claudius, and that Felix was governor after his banishment, lxx. c. 5.

The language of the apostle, then, presents no objection to the latest date, and we may not well presume, as some critics have done, that contrary to all the usages of Rome, the unjust Felix remained twelve years in office, or that he continued governor over an oppressed people, after the downfall of his protector, Pallas, who fell A. D. 56, as stated by Tacitus. It is proper also to notice, that Josephus himself confirms the earlier date for the visit of St. Paul, when he states that "Felix was saved from punishment by his brother, at a time when Pallas was in the highest favor with Nero." This period was the first year of Nero, or A. D. 55, for he was disgraced in the year ensuing, and there is no evidence in history, that he was ever reconciled to the emperor, before he caused him to be poisoned, in the very year in which Josephus arrived in Italy.

Felix could not have been tried and pardoned in that year, for no one can argue safely that a dismissed officer of the emperor, either dead or about to die, was then *in the highest favor* with Nero. Again, there are other facts stated by Josephus, which are inconsistent with the later date, for the recall of Felix. Festus died early in A. D. 62, for his successor Albinus is found in possession of his office in the autumn of A. D. 62, after it had been long vacant, and it must have required a considerable portion of a year, to transmit the intelligence of his death to Rome, and to bring his successor to Judæa. And if the theory of the earlier date be correct, less than one year would exist to embrace all the events occurring under the government of Festus, which, according to the narrative of Josephus, must have continued for a series of years. For Josephus states that under the government of Festus, many events occurred.

First. There was a serious insurrection which he repressed.

Second. Agrippa II. built a palace that overlooked the temple of Jerusalem.

Third. The Jews built a high wall to intercept the view of Agrippa II.

Fourth. The Jews sent a deputation to Rome, to *obtain permission* to maintain their wall.

Fifth. Their mission succeeded by intervention of Poppœa.

Sixth. Their agents returned, leaving the high-priest Ishmael a hostage at Rome.

Seventh. Agrippa, on their return, nominates a new high-priest, Joseph, who after some months is succeeded by Ananus. These successive events, the insurrection, the suppression, the erection of the palace, the construction of the wall, the appeal to Cæsar, the mission, the trial, the return, the changes of the priesthood, call for a space of five or six years. They cannot be compressed into a single year, from A. D. 61 to A. D. 62; but may well occupy the longer period between A. D. 56 and 62, and while they render impossible the later date named for the recall, strongly confirm the earliest. We may safely conclude, then, both from the testimony of Tacitus, St. Luke, and Josephus, that Felix was, in A. D. 55, recalled, pardoned, and succeeded by Festus, and thus place St. Paul in the ensuing year, on his eventful journey to the capital. The detention of the priests sent by Felix to Rome, does not militate with this conclusion, for it was the usage of Rome to detain important prisoners. Thus were Brennus and his family detained seven years, and thus was St. Paul detained. It was the usage of Rome, too, when a province was in a turbulent state, like Judæa, to keep important persons as hostages, and thus Josephus informs us was the high-priest Ishmael retained as a hostage when his associates were discharged. The ancient chronicle of Ivo, referred to in the note, which gives the second year of Nero for the appointment of Festus, confirms our reasoning, and indissolubly connects the voyage of St. Paul with the fifty-sixth year of the Christian Era.

It is important to fix this date with some precision, for other events of interest cluster around this period.

Tacitus, in his annals for A. D. 57, states that Pomponia Græcina, a lady of distinction charged with having embraced a foreign superstition, and married to Plautius, who was honored by an ovation on his return from Britain, was tried by her husband. Plautius assembled her kindred, and in conformity with primitive institutions, having in their presence held solemn inquisition upon the conduct and character of his wife, adjudged her innocent.

For forty years she wore no dress but that of mourning, and remained in constant melancholy; a conduct which, during the reign of Claudius, escaped with impunity and redounded afterwards to her honor.[1]

We also learn from contemporary history, that the family of Caractacus was taken from Britain to Rome, A. D. 51, and were subsequently liberated, and find it recorded in the Welsh Triads, that Brennus the father of Caractacus, returned from Rome, A. D. 58, after seven years' captivity, and brought with him the Christian faith.

Contemporary history also states that during the reign of Claudius and Nero, the philosopher Seneca amassed a fortune of three hundred millions of sesterces, and augmented it by loans on interest in Britain and other provinces. It is recorded also by St. Luke, in the Acts of the Apostles, that St. Paul was acquitted at Rome, and discharged at the end of two years, which according to our computation, would be A. D. 58, or near that period.

St. Paul says, "the things that have happened unto me have fallen out rather to the furtherance of the gospel. So that my bonds in Christ are manifest in all the palace and in all other places."[2]

[1] Tacitus, Annals, L. 13, c. 32.

[2] Phil. 1: 13. Howson and Conybeare translate the original Greek, "Prætorium, or Prætorian camp," in place of palace.

Thus we meet with a remarkable concurrence of circumstances bearing on the introduction of Christianity into Britain.

First. St. Paul was often in the palace of Cæsar, and with the Prætorian guards, where he must have met with the distinguished captives and hostages from Britain, for he alludes in his writings both to the Prætorian guard and to the household of Cæsar.[1]

Second. He was acquainted with Linus, a prince of Britain, the first Bishop of Rome, with Pudens, of senatorial rank, and with Claudia, a British princess.

[1] It was the custom of the Romans to chain their distinguished prisoners to officers or soldiers of the Prætorian guard, who were answerable for their safety with their lives. Thus St. Paul was chained to one of the guard. And thus we learn from Josephus, L. 18, c. 8, was King Agrippa chained to an inferior officer of the guard, and allowed with him to visit the palace of Cæsar. Josephus, in this book, presents a vivid picture of Agrippa in his purple robes, standing in chains before the palace, and leaning in a melancholy posture against a tree, where the soldiers permitted a German prisoner to converse with him. He informs us, also, that after he had been for six months a prisoner on these terms, a friend whispered to him in Hebrew, that Tiberius was dead; and when he expressed his joy, the officer who held him in custody, having ascertained the reason, removed his chains and treated him to a superb supper, which was abruptly terminated by a report of the recovery of Tiberius.

St. Paul makes frequent allusion in his Epistles to his captivity and chains, and to the Prætorian guard. Thus he calls himself "an ambassador in bonds," Ephesians 6 : 20; says Onesiphorus "was not ashamed of my chain," 2 Timothy 1 : 16; tells the Jews at Rome, "for the hope of Israel I am bound with this chain," Acts 28 : 20; and on his arrival at Rome, "the centurion delivered his prisoners to the captain of the guard; but Paul was suffered to dwell by himself with a soldier that kept him," Acts 28 : 16. He speaks, also, "of the whole armor of God," "the breastplate of righteousness," "the shield of faith," "the helmet of salvation," "the sword of the spirit," Ephesians 6 : 11, 13, 14, 16, 17; 1 Thessalonians 5 : 8. His metaphors and illustrations were often drawn from the soldier of the Prætorian guard to whom he was chained.

Third. Pomponia, the wife of the only living Roman who had received an ovation, and herself of the ancient Pomponian family, had become a convert to Christianity, and we presume she had either followed her husband to Britain, or was deeply interested in the country where he had won his laurels. She was one of the most distinguished ladies of the empire.

Fourth. The release of a British king and a royal family, captives with St. Paul for years in Rome.

Fifth. The release of St. Paul the very year before the return of Brennus and his family to Britain.

Sixth. The civilization which was pervading Britain, so tranquillized, that the philosophers of Rome found it a safe field for the investment of millions.

Britain had been the great field for Roman exploits during the reign of Claudius. Britain had become the theme of poetry and history; there the Roman legions had conquered; the fame of Caractacus had pervaded the empire; nation after nation had been subdued; Caractacus himself had been made a prisoner and transported to Rome, to the spot where St. Paul stood in chains before Cæsar, and made converts of every rank and condition of men, from the slave to the princess. The presumptive heir of the emperor Claudius was Britannicus; the latest ovation had been for British conquests; the most intimate friends of the apostle were a British prince and princess, and the husband of the latter, all Christians. The wife of Plautius, who had subdued Britain, was probably his convert, and the apostle in the vast palace of Cæsar, in the Prætorian camp, and amidst these distinguished natives or friends of Britain, must have met also Brennus and Caractacus. A way was thus opened for Christianity into Britain, apparently by the interposition of Divine Providence. The apostle was liberated. The great men of Britain, like the man of Macedonia in his vision, were beckoning him onward. Did the zealous apostle require higher incentives?

May we not, then, presume that the apostle of the Gentiles, sent to preach the Gospel to every creature, feeling that he was released from the lion's mouth for that express purpose, would have accompanied the British monarch and his suite on their return, and have planted the church in Britain. What light does history shed upon this subject?

Nearly all the ancient fathers concur in stating that he did preach "*in the west*," and Athanasius, Cyril, Epiphanius, Jerome, Theodoret, and Gregory[1] assert that he made the visit he proposed to Spain, and preached the Gospel there. Spain was on the commercial route to Britain,[2] and what more probable than this, that he passed through Spain on his way to or from the British Islands. But we have direct testimony on this point. Sophronius, a writer of the seventh century, states expressly that St. Paul preached in Britain.[3]

The historian, Eusebius,[4] in the third century, after naming the twelve apostles and their seventy associates, and devoting several pages to their exploits, writes that some of them visited the Persians, Armenians, Parthians, Scythians, Indians, and others passed over the ocean to the British Isles. Which of them could have passed over except St. Paul, the great missionary of the West? Lingard, the Roman Catholic critic, feels the force of this testimony of the first historian of the church, but endeavors to evade it by the suggestion that St. Paul was not one of these apos-

[1] Chrysostom, Oratio in Paul. Tom. 8, p. 59; Theodoret on Philip. 1 : 25; Athanasius, Vol. I. p. 737; Burgess' Treatise, p. 22.

[2] Tacitus, a contemporary of St. Paul, states that Ireland was situate between Britain and Spain, and that it presented better harbors than Britain, which were known through commerce and merchants. — Tacitus' Life of Agricola. St. Jerome, speaking of St. Paul's visit to Spain, says: "In Hispaniam alienigenaram portatus est navibus." "He was carried in the ships of other nations into Spain."

[3] Sophronius, quoted by Godwin de Praesul, p. 8.

[4] Eusebius, Evang. Dom. Book 3, c. 5 and 7.

tles; but he is uniformly classed either with them or above them by all the ancient fathers; and such nice distinctions do little to weaken the evidence. The same Eusebius repeatedly speaks of the British Ocean as the Western Ocean, and elsewhere speaks of Gaul and "*the western parts*" beyond it, — evidently referring to Britain.

Again, Gildas,[1] a British writer of the sixth century, in his Annals, written A. D. 564, before the final conquest of the country by the Saxons, informs us that the gospel was received in Britain before the fatal defeat by Suetonius Paulinus of the natives under Boadicea, which defeat occurred about A. D. 61, in the reign of Nero.

The evidence of the historian Eusebius to the fact that the apostles (and consequently St. Paul) planted the gospel in Britain, is of peculiar value. Eusebius was the favorite of Constantine, the first Christian emperor, himself a native of Britain.[2] Eusebius was a scholar and man of letters, having access to the best sources of information, and busy in collating church records and other documents as the materials for his Annals of the Church.

This period was long prior to the invasion of the barbarians, and great dependence may be placed on his testimony. St. Jerome, the great Roman authority, and the principal author of the Vulgate, tells us that the design of God in liberating St. Paul from the lion's mouth, (his captivity in Rome,) was, that the gospel might be preached by him in the *western parts* also, ("*occidentis quoque partibus*,") and further says, that St. Paul "went from ocean to ocean."

[1] Gildas.

[2] Constantine, the first Christian emperor, was a native of Britain. His father, Constantius, resided many years at York; and the empress Helena, his mother, was also a Briton. On his father's death, Constantine was proclaimed emperor in Britain.—Burgess, 137. Polydore Virgil says of Constantine: Se enim Britannicâ matre genitus, in Britanniâ natus, in Britanniâ imperator creatus haud dubio magnitudinis suæ gloriæ natale solum particeps effecit.—Hist. A. L. 1.

And what ocean can he refer to except the Atlantic, and that expanse of water known to the ancients as the British Ocean?

If to this evidence we add the testimony of Nicephorus and Dorotheus,[1] the venerable Bede, and St. Paul himself, we find further confirmation. In his last Epistle to Timothy,[2] the apostle writes: "Endure afflictions; do the work of an evangelist; make full proof of thy ministry; for I am now ready to be offered, and the time of my departure is at hand. I have fought the good fight; I have finished my course."

Such evidence confirms the proof that "the prince of the apostles," "the ruler of nations," the apostle Paul, planted Christianity in Britain. For we may well presume the zealous apostle, sent to all the Gentiles, would not have felt that he had given "full proof of his ministry," "would not have been ready to be sacrificed," or have assured his friend that he "had fought a good fight, and had finished his course," if he had omitted to preach the gospel in populous Britain, a region filled with Roman colonies, and ready to welcome him, — the home, too, of his distinguished friends, Linus and Claudia, who join him in that epistle which precedes his martyrdom. It is a striking coincidence that the name of Linus, the British prince, and the name Claudia, a British princess, and of Pudens her husband, son of a Roman senator, are all grouped together by St. Paul in his last epistle to Timothy.

Much light is thrown upon the associates of St. Paul, by a modern discovery at Chichester, an ancient colony of the Romans in England.[3]

[1] Usher, in his Britan. Eccles. Antiquitates, p. 9, cites from two ancient authors, namely, from "Menæis Græcorum," and from "Dorotheus in his Synopsis," two distinct statements that Aristobulus, mentioned in St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans 16 : 10, was ordained by St. Paul bishop of the Britons.

[2] 4 : 5 to 7.

[3] In Conybeare and Howson's Life of St. Paul, p. 500, is the extract here inserted.

The following facts, relating to the names of Pudens and Claudia, are taken from an ingenious essay on the subject, entitled "*Claudia and Pudens.*"[1]

"There are two epigrams of Martial, (iv. 13, and xi. 54,) the former of which describes the marriage of a distinguished Roman named *Pudens* to a foreign lady (peregrina) named *Claudia;* and the latter of which tells us that this *Claudia* was a *Briton*, and gives her the cognomen of *Rufina*. When the latter epigram was written, she had grown up sons and daughters, but herself still retained the charms of youth. Both these epigrams were written during Martial's residence at Rome; and therefore their date must be between A. D. 66 and A. D. 100. (See Clinton's Fasti.) The former of the two epigrams was not *published* till the reign of Domitian; but it may very probably have been *written* many years earlier. Thus the Claudia and Pudens of Martial *may* be the same with the Claudia and Pudens who are here seen as friends of St. Paul in A. D. 68.

But further; Tacitus mentions (Agric. 14) that certain territories in the south-east of Britain were given to a British king, *Cogidunus*, as a reward for his fidelity to Rome. This occurred about A. D. 52, while *Tiberius Claudius Nero*, commonly called *Claudius*, was emperor.

Again, in 1723, a marble was dug up at Chichester, with the following inscription, in which the brackets indicate the part lost by the portion of the stone broken off:—

[N]EPTUNO ET MINERVÆ
TEMPLUM
[PR]O SALUTE DOMUS DIVINÆ
AUCTORITATE TIB. CLAUD.
[CO]GIDUBNI REGIS LEGATI AUGUSTI IN. BRIT.
[COLLE]GIUM FABRORUM ET QUI IN EO
[A SACRIS SUNT] DE SUO DEDICAVERUNT DONANTE AREAM
[PUD]ENTE PUDENTINI FILIO.

[1] By J. Williams, M. A. London, 1848.

Now, the *Tiberius Claudius Cogidubnus* here mentioned as British king of Chichester, is proved by Mr. Williams to be undoubtedly the same mentioned by Tacitus; and we see that Cogidunus had, according to the practice in such cases, adopted the *nomen* and *prænomen* of his patron, the emperor Claudius. Hence, this king's daughter must, according to Roman usage, (see Smith's Dictionary of Antiquities, p. 640,) have been called *Claudia.* It is also in exact accordance with that which was the common practice in such cases, that a daughter of king Cogidunus should have been sent to Rome (as a pledge of his fidelity) to be there educated. If this was done, the young Claudia would no doubt be placed under the protection of Pomponia, the wife of Aulus Plautius, the conqueror of Britain; for this Plautius had been the imperial legate in Britain, A. D. 43–52, and had been aided by the fidelity of Cogidunus. Now this Pomponia, (as we learn from Tacitus, Annal xiii. 32,) was accused in A. D. 57, of being tainted with "*a foreign superstition,*"— which may not improbably have been *Christianity.* And if so, she may have converted her supposed *protégée* Claudia.

Another connecting link between Claudia and Pomponia may perhaps be found in the cognomen *Rufina,* attached to Claudia by Martial. For a distinguished branch of the *Pomponian gens,* at this period, bore the cognomen *Rufus;* and if our Pomponia was of this *Rufine* branch, it would be agreeable to Roman usage that her *protégée* Claudia should be called *Rufina.* And this probability is increased when we find a *Rufus* (in Martial's Epigram) taking an interest in the marriage of Claudia. We know also that a Jewish Christian at Rome bore the name of Rufus, (see Rom. 16 : 13 and note); and it may be conjectured that this Rufus had assumed his Roman name, (as we know was commonly done by the Jews,) from his being under the protection of one of this powerful house of *Pomponius Rufus,* some of

whom would thus again be connected with Roman Christianity.

Lastly, in the above inscription we find the name of *Pudens*, son *of Pudentinus*, united with that of Cogidunus; which would exactly correspond with the hypothesis, that the former was a son-in-law of the latter.

We may add that, according to the tradition of the mediæval church, (which could hardly be acquainted with these epigrams of Martial,) a certain *Timotheus*, son of a Roman senator named *Pudens*, took part in the conversion of the Britons to Christianity."

I have thus accumulated the proofs that St. Paul preached the Gospel in the west of Europe, and planted the first churches in Britain.

The evidence may not be conclusive, but it seems to me to be altogether stronger than the proof that St. Peter rendered any effectual aid in planting the first church and the episcopate in Imperial Rome, and I can find no satisfactory proof, or even presumptions of any visit by St. Peter to Britain.

Should my reasoning on this point be questioned, I can only add, that while it repels the pretence that the popes of Rome first planted Christianity in Britain, and confirms the historical proof that a British church was planted in Britain before A. D. 61, and continued there with its own bishops independent of Rome, until the invasion of the Anglo-Saxons in the eighth century, it is by no means essential to the case I have made against the usurpations and errors of the Church of Rome. Let me hope that my other arguments will suffice to prove, that an American citizen may be a good Christian and a CATHOLIC, without subjecting himself to the Romish Hierarchy.[1]

[1] The reader who may desire to examine the proof that the church in Britain was founded before the church in Rome, and preserved an independent existence under its own bishops for nearly ten cen-

turies, will read with much interest a modern work by Trelawney, entitled, "Perran Zabulœ," or the lost church found. In this he gives the history of a British church, buried in the sands of Cornwall, and disinterred after the lapse of many centuries, and gives a vivid picture of the gradual immersion of the British church in the quicksand of Roman Catholicism after the Norman invasion, and its subsequent recovery. Perran Zabulœ has been republished in New York, from the fifth London edition.

END.

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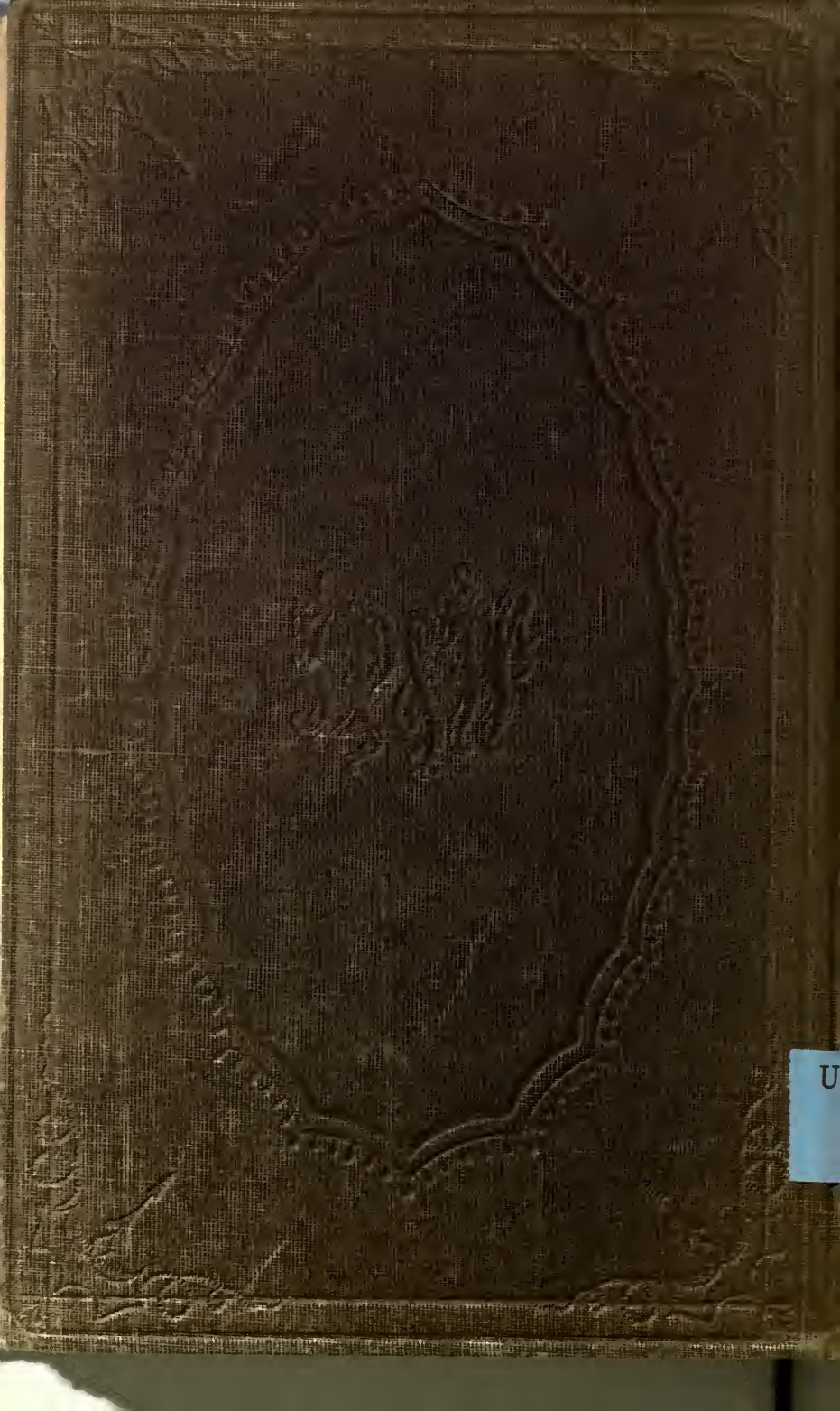
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